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**RIPERATA KAHUTIA:
A WOMAN OF MANA**

**A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts in Tikanga Māori
at the University of Waikato
by**

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Abstract

Riperata Kahutia is widely remembered as a leader in the history of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*, who fought to retain and repossess land during the difficult times of the 1860's. During this period of rapid social change and political upheavals resulting in injustices, the exercise of *rangatiratanga* took many forms. Responses to change covered a wide spectrum and there was no 'right' way of doing things, simply leaders making decisions on the basis of what they and their people thought at the time were best. *Riperata* utilised the law as a means of retaining the land and the *mana* of her people. While her status as a *rangatira* was never in doubt, innuendo surfaced suggesting she may have received more land entitlement than she was qualified for.

The activities by *Riperata* may have been different from other leaders but the purpose was the same: to preserve the people and the land. Her strategies for doing so, based on her inherited *mana* and upbringing, her knowledge of local *iwi* traditions, her acquisition of new skills introduced by Pākehā and her innovative approaches to exercising her *rangatiratanga*, make her a worthwhile study.

This thesis will support the viewpoint that *Riperata Kahutia* acted on behalf of her people and for the good of her people. It will be argued *Riperata* was a visionary who embraced the changes imposed upon a society enduring the consequences of colonisation. A major objective is to dispel suggestions she embellished her rights.

Acknowledgements

My humble beginnings of formal study began at Tairāwhiti Polytech a few years ago. The name of the Māori department there coincidentally was named Kahutia and I believe it was my time there that has influenced the direction of my current interests. I have been extremely lucky to have worked with some incredible people during my years of study and in some form or another they have all contributed towards shaping this thesis into what it is, and I am humbly appreciative.

Furthermore, I am indebted to these uri of Riperata Kahutia. This thesis could not have been attempted without the involvement of the Keiha family. I was privileged to be given access to the personal papers of Riperata Kahutia, and her private whakapapa collection. (I was unprepared for the emotional effect this would have on me.) Uncle Bill Keiha was very patient and obliging with my lines of enquiry and for this I am indebted. Pare Keiha provided sound advice, guidance and direction, and as inadequate as this is, I thank you both. I want to thank my kuia, Nan, (alias Heni Nikora) for allowing me to capture the memories and stories of her youth. Perhaps I have heard these stories twenty plus times, but I have always been a captivated audience and never grew tired of listening to them. You played an integral part in this whole journey Nan, I love you, *ngā mihi. Ko te tumanako, he pai ēnei kōrero ki a koutou katoa.*

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Mā tō tātou Atua koutou katoa e manaaki e tiaki.

Nā,

Shelley Nikora

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Rārangi Whakapapa

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Chapter 1

Introduction

What constitutes a leader in Māori society is best understood through the knowledge recorded by Māori people, and through particular case studies of traditional and contemporary leaders (Ka'ai, T.M. & Reilly, M.P.J. 2004).

The aim of this thesis is to prove that *Riperata Kahutia* was a visionary who acted in the interest of her people of *Tūranga*. It does not propose to comprehend the entire history of Poverty Bay, but it will certainly attempt to offer a perspective based on the experiences of a *Tūranga rangatira*. The objective is not to complete the puzzle of a very tangled complex past, but to instead offer a piece to this jigsaw, which may be added to the body of knowledge that currently exists to help complete a story. By doing this, hopefully the history of *Tūranga* will be seen in its fuller context.

A lot of work has been produced recently as a result of the research and investigation into the history of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa* by the *Waitangi* Tribunal. This work highlights the deeds endured by Māori who resisted the movements of the Crown, and Māori who aligned themselves with the Crown. In the 1860's there were two main groupings in *Tūranga* - loyalists, and rebels. The majority of Māori throughout New Zealand either supported or did not actively oppose the government (Head, L. 2002). Modern writing expresses enormous praise on movements that resisted the government, whether of a religious nature or militant. Māori who resisted the British government to the point of taking up arms are admired, whereas those who did not take up arms against the government are

either ignored or left out. The *Waitangi* Tribunal has supported a climate in which the heroes and patriots were those that took arms against the government (Head, L. 2002). Examples of this in *Tūranga* would be the ‘*Hauhau*’ movement and the rebellion of *Te Kooti*. These were responses by Māori resisting the forces of colonisation.

But what becomes of the friendlies, the neutrals and loyalists? Why did some Māori choose to align themselves with the Crown? What was the incentive back then? More importantly, who were they and how much of an influence did their actions of the past have on current perspectives of today? This research will aim to analyse the measures utilised by *Riperata Kahutia* to retain and increase land holdings in a district affected by the repercussions of colonisation. *Riperata* has been obscured by many historical recounts; therefore, it is quite possible that her whole approach towards survival in the rapidly changing circumstances of the nineteenth century remains unexamined. There were many forms of living in this new world, including armed resistance, passive resistance, selling up, selling out and so on. *Riperata*’s approach to maintaining and increasing land holding in an era of enormous land loss was innovative and successful; therefore, this study will also examine a new perspective on Māori activities as prescribed by Peter Gibbons (pers comm. 28/04/09).

Narratives taken from the observations of predominantly male European’s emphasize the obvious distorted differences in cultural views and perspectives in comparison to the observations of Māori. In fact, these same findings significantly highlight the disproportionate amount of available information regarding women,

and especially pertinent to this thesis, Māori women. Māori women were important and valued figures to the community yet very rarely feature in any historical accounts of this region. It is frustrating to note the distinct absence of observations pertaining to women up until this period. As a result of scholarly writings by non Māori historians, *Riperata Kahutia* becomes known because of her involvement in a colonial created environment, the Native Land Court, and her agreement to sell land to the Crown to build a town. It is because of her association with the European world that her reputation begins to become recognised, and documented. From the accounts written by historians, *Riperata Kahutia* has been framed and influenced by Pākehā perspectives. A more general overview represents the way she has been included in historical accounts or left out as a consequence of broader perspectives on the New Zealand past and the European viewed paradigm. A distinct difference between Pākehā accounts and Māori interests is that Pākehā think of New Zealand as a whole entity, whereas Māori epistemology is usually *whakapapa* orientated and therefore *waka/iwi/hapū* centred. In fact Māori knowledge systems endorse *Riperata* as having *rangatiratanga* status before any kind of acknowledgement by Pākehā. Smith (1999) argues that coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of colonization. Telling our stories from the past, reclaiming the past and giving testimony to injustices of the past are all strategies commonly used by indigenous peoples struggling for justice. The need to tell our stories remains the powerful imperative of a powerful form of resistance.

Non-Māori historians whether deliberate or not have also tended to think of *Tūranga* in terms of being *Ngāti Porou*, with very little account taken of other iwi.

Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa to Māori, or Poverty Bay as named by Captain James Cook, eventually became more commonly known as Gisborne. For the purpose of this thesis, *Tūranga* will be the name that is applied.

Located on the East Coast of the North Island, *Tūranga* is a remote destination. This remoteness became a valuable advantage during the 1840-1860's. Economically and socially local Māori self governed the entire district. Being so isolated from all the main trade and shipping outlets, *Tūranga* was not initially seen as being a profitable area to invest in. Therefore the lack of settlers there discouraged the infiltration of the British Crown, allowing Māori to live under the governance of themselves. Self independence and tribal autonomy existed and thrived, until Europeans began to resist the monopoly Māori had over the trade market. Māori determined food and produce prices, much to the annoyance of the Pākehā. Māori would soon realise though, that they could not hold off the arrival of European settlers for much longer. Not only did they arrive, but they also brought with them disease and the British government. European settlements attracted the protection and presence of the Crown. In a short period, the position and autonomy of Māori would be severely challenged because of the arrival of Pākehā values and ideals. The role of *rangatira* and their *mana* would be questioned, existing tribal structures and systems would be scrutinised. A new element had been introduced into the local community. The early 1860's saw a rapid movement of political and social change that would transform the way of life for Māori of *Tūranga*. A government magistrate had been appointed to reside in *Tūranga*, and legislation would endorse the establishment of the Native Land

Court. This institution had massive ramifications for not only *Tūranga* Māori, but for all Māori peoples.

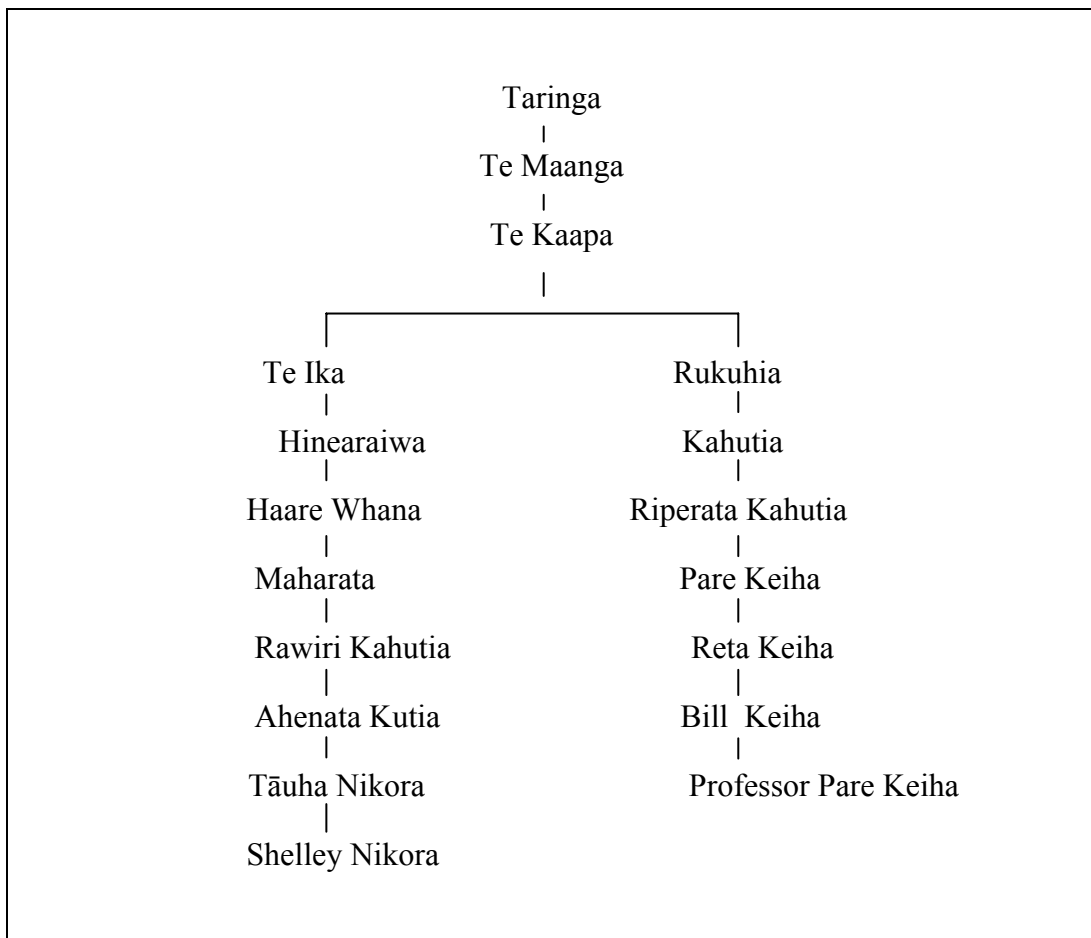
Kaupapa Māori

Identifying as Māori and as a Māori researcher is a critical element of *Kaupapa* Māori research claims Smith (1999). Accuracy and accessibility were two factors that have been constants with me in this project. In terms of accuracy and accessibility to crucial and relevant material, this thesis would have been impossible to develop without the involvement of the immediate family of *Riperata*. The *whānau* principle is one identified by Smith (1999) as an important aspect of *Kaupapa* Māori approaches. Another critical factor was *kaumātua* consultation. This has always been the practice that I was taught by my parents, irrespective of the type of inquiry being sought; seek permission first from the *kaumātua*. *Kaumātua* consultation safeguards not only the researcher, but also insures aspects of *aroha* and sensitivity are taken seriously. *Kaumātua* offer caution and advice. They also help to establish relationships that could otherwise be very tricky if not negotiated carefully. *Whānau* consultation as mentioned already is a crucial element, for it is them who are the caretakers of *kōrero tuku iho*. They have access to personal and private documents, but they also had their own repository of *whakapapa* that extended from many years of work, research and time. It has been an enormous honour and privilege to be given access to this material. This aspect emphasises the value of sensitivity. Some information may be available to the public; some should remain within the caretaking of *Riperata* and her family. As observed by Charles Royal (1992) elders have the wisdom to

advise on which material should be spoken about and which should be kept in the home environment.

Methodology

The information used in this thesis has come from privately held family collections, and public archival records. Previous attempts by historians into reconstructing biographical accounts of *Riperata Kahutia* have not accessed many of the documents and information I was able to, which was a critical step in the process of establishing rationale for this research. I was also heavily reliant on participant interviews as mentioned in the earlier text. It was through *kaumātua* consultation that determined who I interviewed; the interviews were semi-structured and deliberately tailored according to the participant being interviewed. Selected pieces taken from the private collection of *Riperata*'s personal papers and *whakapapa* records have been used in this thesis to confirm points of arguments, as have the oral testimonies of interviewed participants. These participants were Bill Keiha, his son Professor Pare Keiha and Jane Nikora. All three are closely related to me. Because of my close kinship ties to the aforementioned primary sources, the chief supervisor, Professor Pou Temara advised that a formal ethical review was unnecessary and there was no risk of infringement. Bill Keiha is a close whanaunga who comes off the Rukuhia line in the following whakapapa. Jane Nikora is the younger sister of Ahenata, who come off the Te Ika line.



Whakapapa 1 (Source: Charlie Kutia Private Collection)

Regardless of the debate that currently exists surrounding insider/ outsider research, the stories of our tīpuna must be told and presented within the framework of respect, *aroha* and sensitivity. Knowing where we come from, shapes where have been and where we are going. To know these stories is to know ourselves.

Lastly, all Māori *kupu* will be italicised. Ka'ai (2004) argues that this convention helps with the clarity of writing and avoids any confusion when words with the same form in Māori and English are used (e.g. *pine* and pine, *rite* and rite).

The outline of the thesis is discussed below:

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 is essentially the introduction to the research. Personal perspectives, a background to the research, methodologies, research methods and questions will all be addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 is a chronological account of iwi history in *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*, so as to establish boundaries and traditional rights to occupation of land. As mentioned earlier, previous historians have assumed *Ngāti Porou* is the eponymous *iwi* of *Tūranga* thereby leaving out *Rongowhakaata*, *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki* and *Ngai Tāmanuhiri*, who are the anchoring tribes of *Tūranga*. Clarification and further explanation into the tribal history of this region will be examined. Also taken into consideration will be the social, political, economic and religious factors amongst Māori and how these factors influenced the relationships they had with themselves and with Pākehā.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 identifies who *Riperata Kahutia* was. Her family, contemporaries and their histories will be explored demonstrating the belief systems and upbringing *Riperata* endured, which accordingly groomed her for the role as a rangatira. This chapter deals with who she was, giving a behind the scenes look and insight into the shaping of who she became.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 demonstrates the determination of both Māori and Pākehā to acquire land. It examines interpretations and disputes involving traditional rights and claims to land. Under examination will be philosophies that *Riperata* endorsed and supported in terms of *mana whenua*, *tino rangatiratanga* and customary ancestral rights. Case studies from the Native Land Court illustrate deceptions and manipulations created by the complications and complexities of a new world inflicting detrimental wounds upon a subaltern society forced to submit to the consequences of colonisation.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 therefore establishes the movement of resistance *Riperata* utilised in retaining and increasing customary title to land for herself and for her people. Many people sought her assistance as ‘*kaiwhakahaere*’ over their disputes and claims, her pro-active responses taken in support of land retention. The main points that will be considered in this chapter is her role as a *rangatira*, and how she exercised her *mana* during a period of enormous political and social change.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 deliberates over the actions taken by *Riperata Kahutia* based on evidence already provided in the previous chapters and how these actions memorialise *Riperata* in her contribution to the history of *Tūranga* directly, and to New Zealand indirectly. After having identified the motivations of individuals and groups in either supporting or opposing the approach used by *Riperata*, this chapter will look at the benefits secured by her for the welfare and survival of her

people and her supporters. How did the wider community benefit from her undertakings?

Chapter 7

The final chapter will summarise the outcomes of the research findings and whether these outcomes were achieved. It will also consider areas for future research based on the conclusions and recommendations explored in this piece of work.

Chapter 2

Iwi history of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*,
Political and religious climate and land issues

Aim

This chapter outlines the historical background into which *Riperata Kahutia* lived her life. It discusses the original settlement of the *Tūranga* district by the people of the *Horouta* canoe and the establishment of the main *iwi* who became *tangata whenua o Tūranga*. It also discusses the arrival at *Tūranga* of the early Pākehā settlers and their acquisition of land which became a problem for *tangata whenua* and is the major issue around which Māori responses to Pākehā were centred.

Horouta

Tūranga was first settled by the occupants of *Horouta*, the canoe from which the bulk of the present *tangata whenua* claim descent. Having come from *Hawaiki* under the stewardship of *Paoa*, the *waka* met with an accident in present day Bay of Plenty. In an endeavour to cross a sandbar, its hull broke into two. *Paoa* and some of his crew went inland to search for the necessary timber to mend the *waka*. He was searching for a particular type of wood called a *haumi*. On top of a high mountain *Paoa* found what he needed and he marked the occasion by calling the mountain *Maungahaumi*. The following *mōteatea* encapsulates the journey of *Paoa* and the *Horouta waka* to *Te Tairāwhiti*, where the *waka* eventually berthed at the mouth of the *Tūranganui* River.

Haramai a Paoa
I runga i tona waka i a Horouta
Ka pakaru ki tuara nui o Kanawa
Ka haramai ki uta
Ki te rapa haumi
Ki te rapa pūnaki
Ka kitea te haumi
Ka kitea te pūnaki
E kai kamakama
Ka mā tōna mimi
Rere ana Mōtu
Rere ana Waipaoa
Ko Kōpututea te pūtanga ki waho
Kia unu mai tōna kuri, e pākia mai nei
E ngā ngaru o te moana, e takoto nei
Ka huri, ka huri te haere a Paoa
Ki Te Tairāwhiti!

The *waiata* speaks of the problems with the hull at *Kanawa*, a location near the *Ohiwa* Harbour area, and refers to the quest to find a *haumi*. It also mentions the rivers of *Motu* and *Waipaoa*, supporting the claim of the descendants of *Paoa* to the land through which the *Waipaoa* River flows, namely the *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa* district.

Tūranganui-ā- Kiwa

As the commander of a skeleton crew belonging to the *Horouta waka*, *Kiwa* decided that the area on the west bank of the *Tūranganui* River (between Gladstone Rd and the railway bridges in what is now Gisborne) would be ideal for the planned rendezvous of the *Horouta* people. To commemorate this decision,

Kiwa bestowed the name *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*, on the planned rendezvous (Halbert, R. 1999, p. 26). To further celebrate this event, *Hineakua* the daughter of *Paoa*, was given in marriage to *Kahutuanui*, the son of *Kiwa*, producing the future descendants of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*.

Kiwa = Rakaitapatahi		Paoa = Paparukuruku
Kahutuanui		Hine Akua
Haua		Wairaka
Aniukitaharangi		Rangitaukiwaho
Ngore- o- te- rangi		Rakaikoko
Ue-a-Ngore		Taraiwhana
Tahungaehenui		Hiharore
Ruatepupuke	=	Tuwairua
	Ruapani	

Whakapapa 2 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

From them came *Ruapani*, ‘who owned the whole of the *Tūranga-nui-ā-Kiwa* (Kahutia, R. 1880) and upon whom converged all the aristocratic lines of *Horouta* (Halbert, R. 1999). *Ruapani* had three wives and in all twenty five children. Among those who could claim descent from him were *Te Kani-ā-Takirau*, *Te Heuheu*, *Te Rauparaha*, *Tomoana*, *Te Kooti*, *Wi Pere*, *Timi Kara*, Sir *Maui Pomare*, Sir *Apirana Ngata* and other prominent Māori leaders.”

Tūranga Tribes

Tūranga-nui-ā-Kiwa is commonly acknowledged as being the territory of the *tangata whenua* belonging to the tribes of *Rongowhakaata*, *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki* and *Ngai Tāmanuhiri/Ngai Tahupō*. An ongoing debate exists between *Rongowhakaata* and *Ngāti Porou* regarding *Te Toka a Taiau* as both *iwi* claim

ownership to this marker. Most historians assume *Ngāti Porou* as the foremost *iwi* of *Tūranga* when compiling narratives of the nineteenth century. These narratives discount the significance of other *iwi*, such as *Rongowhakaata*, *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*, and *Ngai Tāmanuhiri*, thereby creating a prejudicial and distorted perspective of the past. If *Ngāti Porou* are correct, then they too should be included in the cluster of *Tūranga* *iwi*. The debate continues.

Ngai Tahupō

Located at *Muriwai*, slightly south of *Tūranga*, are the people of *Ngai Tāmanuhiri*. *Tāmanuhiri* the founder of this *iwi* belonged to *Ngai Tahupō*, and is renowned not only for his strengths and conquests in war, but also for his liaison with a woman called *Hinenuitepō*. This union constituted the *whakatauki*: “*Taku hē ki te huata, no muri ko te huaui*” – childlessness then fertility. Leo Fowlers *Te Mana o Tūranga* (1974, p. 29) presents the complete transcript of the *Tāmanuhiri*, *Hinenuitepō* liaison as told by *Pine Taiapa*.

Rongowhakaata

Rongowhakaata descends from *Paikea*, and was raised at *Uawa*. Arriving at *Tūranga* in his youth, one of the first places he visited was *Te Huia pā*. While there he met and married his first wife *Turahiri*. He had three wives, *Turahiri*, *Uetupuke*, and *Moetai*. They were all sisters. *Rongowhakaata* was known to have special powers, and had the ability to change his appearance. On one such occasion he transformed himself into a bird while following his second wife *Uetupuke* (Halbert, R. 1999).

Te Aitanga ā Mahaki

Ko Maungahaumi te maunga

Ko Waipāoa te awa

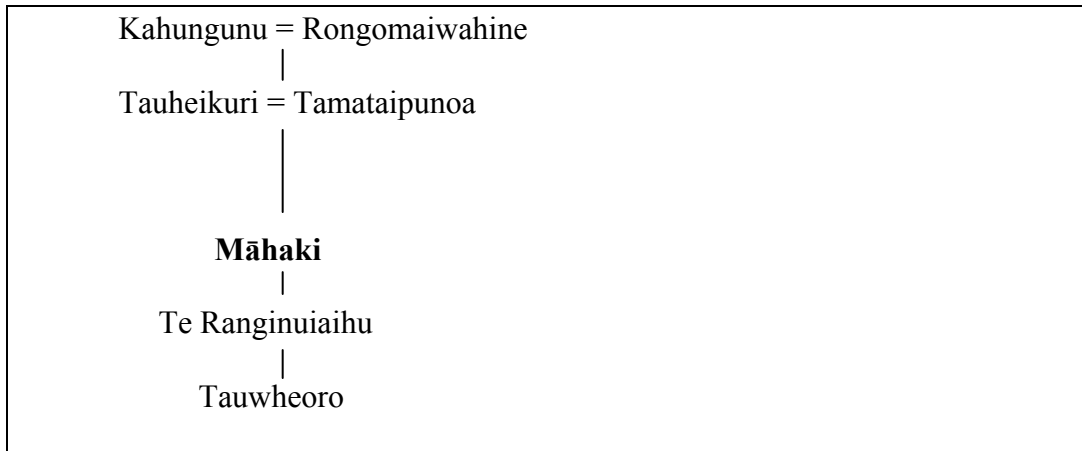
Ko Te Aitanga ā Māhaki te iwi

Tauheikuri was the youngest girl born from the union of *Kahungunu* and *Rongomaiwahine*. During the attempted invasion of *Tūranga* by the warrior *Tutāmure*, of *Ngāti Ruatākena*, a sub tribe of *Te Whakatohea*, war was narrowly avoided through a peace offering by *Kahungunu* to *Tutāmure*. *Tauheikuri* was the peace offering.

In retaliation for the death of his sister *Taaneroa*, *Tutāmure* gathered together a war party and set out to avenge her death. A great battle took place, and survivors of that onslaught escaped and fled to the *pā* of *Kahungunu*, at *Maungaakahia*. *Tutāmure*, discovered this, and directed his campaign in the direction of *Maungaakahia*. *Kahungunu* realised that the only way he could avoid a fight, would be to offer a token of peace (Halbert, R.1999).

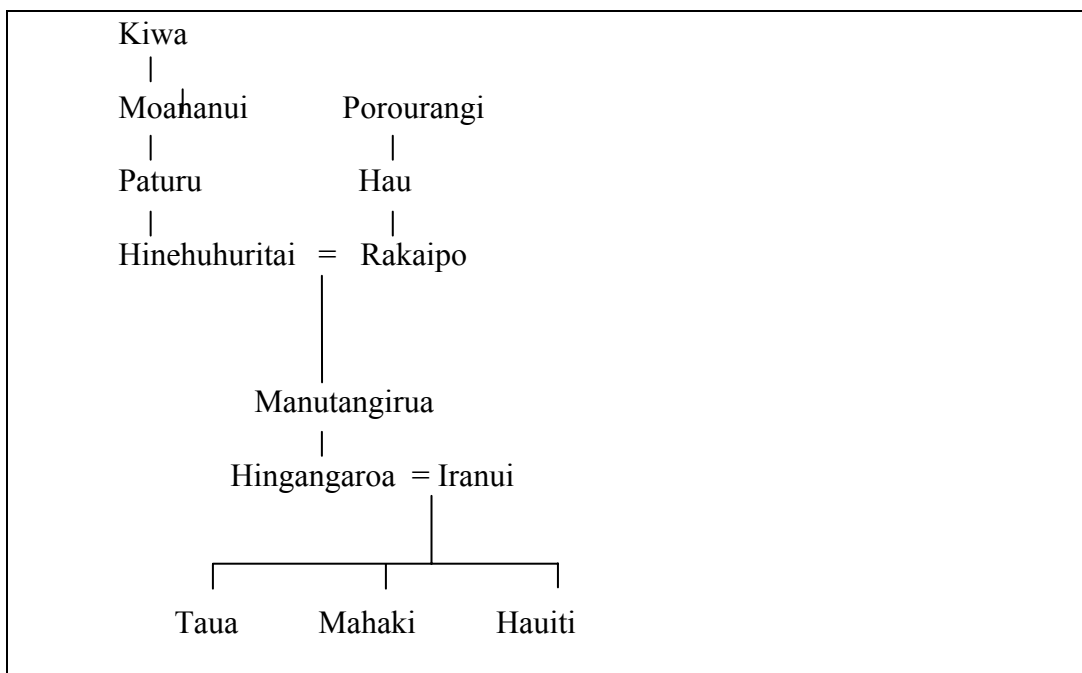
Tauheikuri was lowered down the cliff in a basket as a wife for *Tutāmure*. Unfortunately for *Tutāmure*, *Tauheikuri* was attracted to his younger brother *Tamataipunoa*. *Tutāmure* allowed and accepted the union between his younger brother and the daughter of *Kahungunu*. *Tamataipunoa* married *Tauheikuri*, and they begat *Māhaki ā Tauheikuri*, founder of the tribe, *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*. *Tutāmure* married *Hinekauia* and returned to *Te Whakatohea*.

Te Kura ā Māhaki



Whakapapa 3 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Many historians and the occasional tribal scholars have often mistaken the identity of the ancestor who created *Te Aitanga a Māhaki*. It is important to clarify the identity of the ancestor of *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*, as there still exist's confusion between *Māhaki-ā-Tauheikuri*, and *Māhaki-ewe-karoro*, two unrelated individual *tipuna* with their own separate *whakapapa* and identities.



Whakapapa 4 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Hingangaroa is credited as the founder of the famous *whare wānanga* of the East Coast, *Te Rāwheoro*. He married *Iranui* and they had three sons, *Taua*, *Mahaki* and *Hauiti*. After a dispute they all departed in different directions. *Taua* became the eponymous ancestor of *Te Whānau ā Apanui*, *Mahaki* *ewe karoro* founded the *Wahineiti* line. The youngest of the three brothers, *Hauiti*, established *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti*.

Te Whānau ā Iwi

As can be seen in the *whakapapa* given, *Mahaki* had a son, *Te Ranginui a Ihu* (sometimes mentioned as *Ihu*) who married *Te Nonoi*. They had six children, one of them being *Tauwheoro*. She married *Iwipuru*, who became the founding ancestor of the *hapū Te Whānau ā Iwi*. *Te Whānau ā Iwi* takes its name from the *tipuna Iwipuru*, who married *Tauwheoro*, the only daughter of *Te Nonoi*. Both *Ngā Mōteatea* and *Horouta* record a battle that occurred between the brothers of *Tauwheoro* and her husband *Iwipuru*. The brother's had decided to pay their sister a visit, not knowing that *Iwipuru* was also busy entertaining guests of his own kin. When it was time for everyone to partake in the prepared food, the brothers of *Tawheoro* were served vegetables that were burnt. Consequently, they were deeply insulted, and killed *Iwipuru*. This battle is known amongst *Te Whānau ā Iwi* as the “*Kopae pakapaka*”, and was recorded by *Kahutia* (father of *Riperata Kahutia*) in the lament for *Makere Whatu* (Ngata, A. 1970).

Ngai Tāwhiri

Te Nonoi had an older brother *Kahunoke*. It is from his side that descends *Tāwhiri*, the founding ancestor of *Ngai Tāwhiri*. *Riperata Kahutia* states, “my two

hapū’s are *Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri*. *Whānau ā Iwi* came from *Nonoi* land, *Ngai Tāwhiri* from *Kahunoke*.” (MLCMB, Vol 10, 1885. p. 102). The following whakapapa shows the descent of *Riperata* from *Te Nonoi* and *Kahunoke*:

Te Nonoi	Kahunoke
Tauwheoro = Iwipuru	Tamateakuku
Kuriwahanui	Tutekohi
Tapi	Tamatanui
Te Kaapa = Te Kohua(f)	Te Ruahoro
Rukupō/Rukuhia	Tirapare= Tawhiri
Kahutia	Mate
Riperata Kahutia	Rongoteururoa
	Te Rangihiria
	Taringa
	Te Maanga
	Te Kapa
	Ruku
	Kahutia
	Riperata Kahutia

Whakapapa 5 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Te Nonoi

Regarding *Te Nonoi*, (Mackey, J. 1949) Judge Rogan 6/06/1875, states:

‘...little or nothing is known about the people who occupied Poverty Bay for nearly two hundred years after Ruapani’s day. The next chief who appeared as proprietor was Te Nonoi, from whom both claimants and counter claimants have traced their descent....’

Te Nonoi and her descendants became regular and common ancestors frequently used by many claimants throughout the land claims of Poverty Bay as observed by Judge Rogan. When the claim for *Kaiti* block consisting of some 2000 ha was brought before the court, both *Riperata Kahutia*, chieftiness of *Te Aitanga ā*

Māhaki, and a chief of *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti*, *Rutene Te Eke Tū o te Rangi*, claimed from the same common *tipuna*.

This is possibly the significance of the tribal aphorism of *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*, *Tūranga tangata rite, Tūranga ararau, Tūranga makaurau*. As Keiha (1990) explains, “*kei te ritetanga (sic) te rangatiratanga o ngā tāngata o Tūranga*”. The lines of descent were the same; therefore no one was considered senior to the others. No one intruded into another’s territory without reason or permission. One worked in the interests of and for the benefit of the people as a whole without aspirations of self elevation of personal mana or rewards.

Arrival of first Pākehā Settler

John Williams Harris arrived in Poverty Bay on 16 May 1831, equipped with a cargo of goods to establish a trading station (Mackey, J. 1927). The cargo included rum, tobacco, muskets, gunpowder, oil and other items that were not common amongst the local *Māori*. Three trading stations were established, at *Awapuni*, *Muriwai*, and *Mahia*. Harris took control of the *Awapuni* store, which later was relocated to the northern side of the *Tūranganui* river. He made acquaintances with one of the local chiefs, who became the protector and supporter of this fresh- off- the- boat *Pākehā*. This chief’s name was *Paretene Pototi*, or *Paratene Tūrangi* as he was also known. Harris became ‘his Pākehā’. These were the beginnings of trade and commerce in *Tūranga-nui-ā-Kiwa*.

Land was a much sought after commodity by the early settlers, and their ability to provide “goods of interest” to the local *Māori* sometimes encouraged competition

amongst the local chiefs. *Paratene and Kahutia* gave Harris a piece of land at the mouth of the river to establish his store. Harris was also given a wife by *Paratene*, exhibiting his obligation of chiefly hospitality, but also cementing his ties with Harris. Mackey (1949) further observes that *Rāwiri Te Eke Tu o te Rangi* (son of *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti* chief, Rutene Te Eke Tū o te Rangi) another *rangatira*, did not want to be left out or have his *mana* challenged, and so gave *Tukura*, his first cousin and a woman of rank, to Harris as a wife. This union produced two sons. The introduction of a trading store at Poverty Bay created a new focus of interest amongst local *Māori*, as can be seen by the involvement of three local chiefs. *Paratene Tūrangi* was recognised as being a *Rongowhakaata rangatira*, *Rāwiri Te Eke Tū o Te Rangi* represented *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti* while *Kahutia* remained a synonymous *rangatira* of *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki*. Even so, all three chiefs could still ‘*whakapapa*’ into each of these *iwi* regardless of the fact they represented different locations within the region.

Local *Māori* were keen to engage in business with the *Pākehā*. The first store was at *Awapuni*, then moved in closer towards the *Waikanae* area. This land was sold to Harris by *Kahutia*.

In 1840, a *Pākehā* by the name of William Brown arrived at Tūranga. He established a close acquaintance with *Kahutia*, and became known as ‘*Kahutia’s Pākeha*’. To cement this relationship and possibly to provide Brown with land as well, *Kahutia* arranged for his *Pākeha* to marry his niece, *Hinewhatioterangi* otherwise known as *Te Ohuka* or *Whati* (Keiha, 1990). The union between William Brown and *Hinewhatioterangi* produced five children.

William Williams

The first missionaries arrived only a few years after the first resident *Pākehā* traders. Reverend William Williams, his wife Jane and their family landed at *Tūranga* on the 20 January, 1840 (Porter, F. 1974). When in 1834 Williams had returned previously captured *Ngāti Porou* by *Ngāpuhi*, he did not visit *Tūranga*. On his arrival in 1840, he discovered that most of the general population was already familiar with Christianity. Williams was quickly inundated with enquiries for prayer books.

During the negotiations of the Treaty of *Waitangi*, William Williams was given the task of collecting signatures for this document. He managed to acquire 22 signatures from the *Tūranga* district. He warned the principal chiefs of the *Tūranga* region of the dangers of selling directly to Europeans looking to purchase property, and that they should wait for the Crown to deem “sovereign ownership” over New Zealand. Williams proposed, that the chiefs should sell “all” their land to him and he would put it into a trust for their descendants. He gave blankets, horses and other trivial items to secure the transaction. Governor Gipps proclamation of 14 January 1840, which declared all land transactions and land titles void unless derived from the Crown, invalidated William’s transaction. Williams privately accumulated vast areas of land during his role as a messenger of Christ including 450 acres at *Pouparae* opposite *Waerenga a Hika*, and 900 acres in the Bay of Islands (Porter, F. 1974).

Meanwhile *Kahutia* was now discovering another side to Christianity and it is interesting to note the diary entries of Williams which support this view:

Jan 10/1846: Rode to Taruheru to see the chief Kahutia who is sick and whose mind is warped by heathenish superstition, though he occasionally attends Christian worship.

May 14/1847: Went to see Whata and Kahutia...they were civil but not being under the influence of Christianity there is less hold upon them.

June 22/1847: I hear that the tribes of Teitangamahaki (sic) and Te Whanau a Kai held a meeting yesterday in consequence of the tattooing that is going on under Kahutia...

13/12/1847: Went in the afternoon to see Whata and Kahutia and the whole party who have been engaged some months in the heathen practice of tattooing. This work was commenced in anger against the Christian party.

Nov 12/1849: We hear that the priest [J. Lampila of the Roman Catholic Church] is still at Turanga and that the idea of having a discussion has not originated with him but with the chiefs Whata and Kahutia, who say they wish to have the subject talked over that they may judge which is the true church.

These diary entries from Williams' journal indicate *Kahutia* and the missionary disagreed over many matters. *Kahutia* realised the hypocrisy of the teachings and beliefs of the missionary. He resumed traditional native practices as did other Māori leaders. *Kahutia* commenced *tā moko*, whilst *Rukupō* continued with *whakairo*.

In 1850, Williams embarked on a journey back to England. His replacement was Thomas Grace. Many historians report that T.S. Grace was very influential amongst the local Māori. This did not make him very popular amongst the European community. Grace encouraged Māori to be cautious about the plans of Pākehā. In a letter he reported:

the government land agent had been here during my absence trying to convince them that it would be greatly to their advantage to sell. Many meetings had been held...I can do nothing but use any influence I have against the principle of selling their land (Grace.T.S).

For three years Grace was stationed in *Tūranga*. It is highly likely that he had contact with *Riperata Kahutia* who would have been 11 in 1850. *Riperata* could read and write Māori very well. Because of the antagonism between *Kahutia* and Williams, *Kahutia* probably preferred her to be educated by Grace. Amongst other students of Grace was *Te Kooti*.

Despite Grace's qualities, *Kahutia* had become opposed to the missionaries of the The Church of England and invited Roman Catholic missionaries to *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*. He erected a carved post at a place now known as *Riperata Kahutia's* cemetery on the eastern bank of the *Taruheru* River. He called this post *Te Pou o Turanga*. However his fellow chiefs persuaded him not to support the establishment of the Catholic Church as it would divide the people, a number whom were already adherents of the well-established Church of England. *Kahutia* compromised by agreeing that he alone would be baptised into the Catholic Church and that his family would agree not to trample upon the request of his fellow chiefs. The carved post was uprooted and presented to the *Rongowhakaata* tribe. The Church of England continued to be the main religion in *Tūranga* (Fowler, L. 1974).

Bill Keiha (pers.comm) has commented on the issue of the carved post in an interview:

The reason why he put the pou in the ground at Taruheru, I was told it was in the ground by the Catholic Church but it wasn't because I remember we used to play there, Pare Carroll had a dairy farm there. Then I heard the pou was over there at the Taruheru side of the river. Any rate, then Bishop William Williams started

dictating they were not to moko anymore. A decree from the Anglican church and apparently Kahutia and Henare Ruru, that's the time they put the pou in, told him to go jump in the lake, that's the time they started to object being dictated too. You wouldn't see a pou, it's too old. That's why he started to buck and became a Catholic. He had done it to get his own back on Williams and his crew, he changed hats to annoy them. They accepted the Church of England or Anglican until they started being dictatorial, and that dictating type of thing happened once they got the land at Manutuke for their mission.

Williams decided in 1853 to establish a much larger mission station in Poverty Bay. *Rongowhakaata* had already supplied him with eight acres to establish his mission school at *Whakato. Te Whānau a Taupara of Te Aitanga ā Māhaki* offered nearly 700 acres. This meant relocation to *Waerenga Hika*.

As Keiha observes (per comm):

Once they got the land at Manutuke for their mission, Bishop Williams and his brother, the land became too small and they wanted more. The Rongowhakaata people said, no you've got enough, so the Taupara people decided to bring them under their umbrella and they got a square mile of land.... Now, they went in there and at that time Henare Ruru and his crew were leading Taupara, they were the chiefs. They knew that land was choice land and was gonna be taken under the Poverty Bay Deeds Grants Act, they turned around and donated it to the Crown for educational purposes for their uri. The Crown turned round and gave the cover to Williams and the church. In the meantime Williams was clearing the trees, various native trees forest and everything else and was selling it for firewood."

The shift of the mission from *Manutuke* to *Waerenga a Hika* took place in 1857.

The new site was the projected venue for a Māori school and training college.

Growing Hostility

Hospitality and the ability to take care of and house visitors is an important function within Māori custom and beliefs. It is probable that *Kahutia* provided land for settlers in exchange for a blanket and a horse, as a good host. The receiver of that gift in *te ao* Māori would humbly accept this gift, and never forget to return it once the gift had served its purpose. But Pākehā custom was different. In all likelihood, *Kahutia* never intended to forgo ownership to the land. He was simply offering the new settler an opportunity to cultivate food and to participate in the local economy and community. Relationships with Pākehā were initially very beneficial to the Māori. Through the supply of commodities in demand, such as dressed flax, wheat, and labour, Māori remained in control of the local trade and dictated market prices. This meant a prosperous time for Māori.

Repudiation

Pākehā colonists moved to districts to improve their condition, especially to deal in land, hoping to buy it and sell advantageously (Oliver, W.H. 1971). Land grabbing by Europeans was the catalyst which caused *Kahutia* to reject many old land transactions. *Kahutia* thought he was establishing relationships with the early settlers by giving them land to build homes, cultivate food, and earn a living, practicing good *tikanga* by being a hospitable host to his guests. It was highly unlikely *Kahutia* was giving away the land permanently. Eventually the behavior of some Pākehā caused *Kahutia* to reconsider the extent of his hospitality.

Meanwhile to exacerbate things, news of the tensions in *Taranaki* and the *Waikato* reached local Māori, and *Tūranga rangatira* began to be concerned about

possibilities of the British Crown intruding at *Tūranga*. *Tūranga* had long enjoyed the presence of a handful of Pākehā settlers, but some Māori realised that their presence could become a threat to their way of life. Settlers and traders residing at *Tūranga* attracted other settlers and traders to the district, making *Tūranga* more visible to the government. Māori needed to limit the influence of settlers in case they were overwhelmed. Perhaps they could not stop Pākehā arriving, but certainly they needed to slow the influx of Europeans who took the opportunity to obtain land, by offering a horse, a blanket, or nails and believed they had acquired exclusive rights over the land. As a consequence of continued European infringements and fraud involving the land, *Kahutia* realised how his actions of goodwill were being misinterpreted. In 1852, *Kahutia* and a band of supporters sought to reclaim, and repossess land that was being occupied by Pākehā who, on the other hand, had no intention of returning the land. He began returning the horses, the blankets and nails in return to repossess his and his tribe's land. As *Pare Keiha* (pers comm) observes, *Kahutia* wanted the land back because satisfaction was never received over purposes for which the land was given. Later this campaign of repossession became known as the Repudiation Movement. *Kahutia* led the Repudiation Movement.

Self Governance

In 1857 *Kahutia* and *Raharuhi Rukupo* invested money they received from selling 57 acres to the Crown into a Mill. Motivation and enthusiasm amongst the local people was high. Autonomy and self governance were principle factors in the organisation of Māori society in the nineteenth century. Despite the desires of local Pākehā for a government agent to be based in *Tūranga*, Māori were intent on

asserting and retaining their control over the district. They formed a committee or *rūnanga* whose primary function was to safeguard their interests and to uphold *tikanga*. This committee was seen as a threat by some settlers especially when the committee began to set prices in interest of the Māori community which was predominant. The Waitangi Tribunal reports (2004) note that the settlers wished to take from Māori control of land and law and their only possible ally in achieving that objective was through the Crown.

In June 1851, Donald McLean commented that "misunderstandings will continually arise in this Bay until the native title is fairly extinguished to such land as may be required for grazing or other European purposes". In June 1857 he declared; "Either the government must obtain the lands here or we must leave" (Fargher, R. 2007).

Kahutia said at a meeting in 1858:

Let the magistrate be under the Queen if he likes, we will not consent to her authority, we will exercise our own authority in our own country (Binney, 1995: 37).

Paratene Turangi (Rongowhakaata chief and father-in-law of Riperata Kahutia) who attended the same meeting proclaimed:

We are not the remnants of a people left by the Pākehā, we have not been conquered, the Queen has her island, and we have ours. The same language is not spoken in both

It is highly probable that in light of land wars that were happening in other rohe, retaining the autonomy of *Tūranga* was crucial for *Kahutia* and *Rukupō* (*rangatira* and members of the local *rūnanga*) seeking to reclaim and repossess land that had been provided for settlers. The *rūnanga* may well have thought the

presence of settlers there as residents encouraged the Crown to intervene, and the arrival of agents of the Crown in *Tūranga* would threaten Māori autonomy in the district. As the comments of *Paratene* and *Kahutia* emphasised, the intervention of European officials was not wanted nor welcomed by the local Māori.

And Thomas Grace's observation on 17/03/1850, "The contact of Europeans with the natives is at present the cold touch of death to the natives" (Brittan, S.J, 1928).

Pai Mārire

When the *Pai Marire* missionaries arrived in *Tūranga*, their preaching proved to be highly infectious among Māori, and Pai Marire grew fast throughout the entire district. The founder, *Te Ua of Taranaki*, urged his followers not to fight. Instead, they would be victorious through the divine intervention of an angel. *Te Ua* told of two divine angels, *Rura* (Gabriel) and *Riki* (Michael). Essentially the role of *Rura* was to keep the peace and *Riki* encouraged war. Māori would have found this approach acceptable since it has some similarity to the traditional roles of *Rongomaraeroa* and *Tūmatauenga* in which *Rongomaraeroa* personified the element of peace, whilst *Tūmatauenga* controlled war. Women are considered to exemplify *Rongo*, whilst men represent *Tū*, and the roles complement each other. As Binney (1995) observes:

The Pai Marire preachers insisted that they came in peace. They offered a religion which was independent of the missionaries and which seemed to empower Māori.

The introduction of Christianity had encouraged and accelerated rapid social change amongst its followers. Leaders of the new Māori religious groups believed

their teachings could stem and reorient radical social changes occurring as a consequence of colonisation.

Hauhau

Kiwa Hammond (1995) in his thesis defines *Hauhau* as, *an individually motivated collective who utilised Te Ua's teachings in such a way that it justified their own personal agenda.* *Hauhau* became a derogatory term used by settlers and Pākehā officials to label any Māori who seemed to be anti-European, or anti-government. Pākehā described *Hauhau* as troublemakers and fanatics. Using labels like this was beneficial to the colonial community, because such negative judgements diverted the attention from the plight of Māori, who were suffering extreme injustices on social, political, economic and moral levels.

Ngāti Porou

Ngāti Porou from the East Coast had a great influence in the internal Māori struggle, and affected the dynamics of the region. While the majority of *Tūranga* had become supporters of the *Hauhau* movement, there was a large contingent who became 'loyalists'. *Ngāti Porou* were established 'loyalists'. *Te Kooti* and the *Rongowhakaata* (with *Tūhoe*, *Ngāti Kahungunu* and other tribal allies) were defeated by *Rāpata Wahawaha* and the *Ngāti Porou* (with settler and soldier allies). The *Ngāti Porou* allies, of course had their own objectives including land and power (Oliver, W.H. & Thomson, J.M. 1971).

The influx of *Hauhau* and the considerable support they received from local *Tūranga* Māori produced anxiety and even panic amongst the settlers. Members

of the European community sent letters to the Crown seeking aid and assistance in the form of arms and ammunition either to protect themselves or to take control. Local Māori *rangatira* felt their mana and authority challenged when outside tribes insisted on entering their territory without authority or permission. Therefore they too requested arms and support from the Crown. Establishing relationships with the Crown, and being strategically aligned with the Crown, became a means of retaining land and power.

Te Kooti

According to Binney (1995) *Te Kooti* was born at *Paokahu* in 1832. Binney claims *Te Kooti* was heavily involved in land politics in *Tūranga* between the 1850s and 1860s, supporting *Kahutia*, the leader of the ‘repudiation’ movement. *Te Kooti* was known to have a residence in *Tārere*, located close to *Taruheru* the residence of *Kahutia*. A ‘concocted’ charge was laid, that *Te Kooti* had been seen selling gun-caps to the *Hauhau* at *Waerenga Hika*. *Te Kooti* was seized, and flung onto the boat that would transport all ‘*whakarau*’ to *Wharekauri* (Chatham Islands) *Riperata*’s father- in -law *Paratene Tūrangi*, ordered *Te Kooti* to be put on the ship, which *Te Kooti* would later seek revenge for. *Paratene* was executed by *Te Kooti* while attempting to seek peace in 1868, the day after the infamous *Waerenga Hika* Raids.

When *Paratene Tūrangi* was slain at *Te Kooti*’s orders in 1868, money was required to entertain *Ngāti Porou* friends who came to attend the *tangi*. Capt Read advanced 150 pounds on a promise that he should in return receive a portion of the *Awapuni* land block. When *Riperata Kahutia* heard of this matter, she made it

very clear to Read that the people he dealt with were not the owners of that land. Read did not pursue the matter further.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the historical background of the period in which *Riperata Kahutia* was born. It discussed the first settlement of the *Tūranga* district by the people of the *Horouta* canoe, and the establishment of the main iwi who became *tangata whenua o Tūranga*. It also outlined the settlement of *Tūranga* by the first Pākehā settlers, followed by the missionaries. The acquisition of land by both settlers and missionary became a problem, with the result that local Māori took action to rectify matters. No doubt *Riperata* was influenced and shaped by the goings on in *Tūranga*.

Chapter 3

*Wānia ngā waewae o tō tamāhine kia pai ai te haere i roto
i ngā pārae o Makauri*

Aim

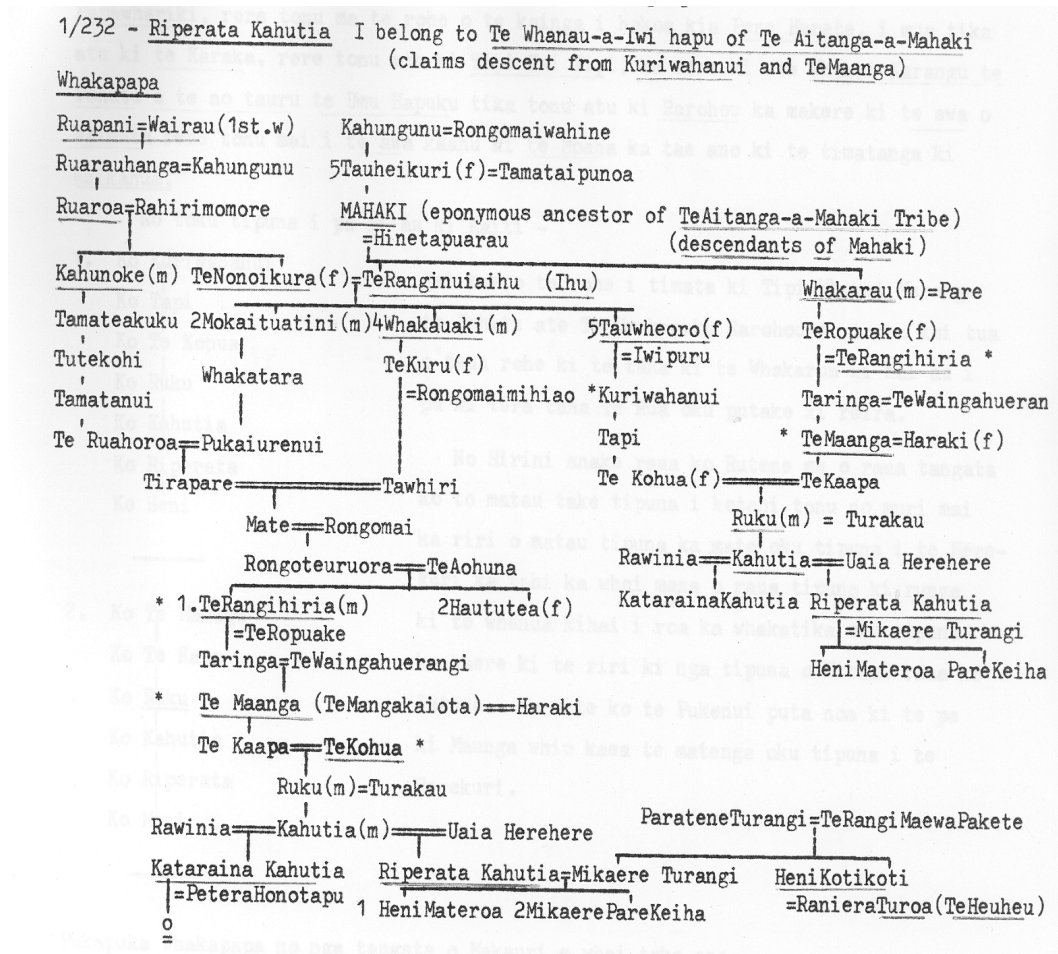
Who is *Riperata Kahutia*? The following commentaries will explore who she was. Also under consideration are events and associations with people that helped shape and influence her to become a well known personality of *Tūranga*.

Riperata Kahutia

Riperata Kahutia is a significant figure in the history of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa*. During her lifetime she inherited the role of a rangatira and became a respected person during the early period of colonial settlement. She fought to keep her people together, by defending land rights during proceedings in the Native Land Court, and also by maintaining the autonomous identity of her tribe. She is a well-known rangatira, who inherited this prestigious mantle not only through *kāhui whakapapa*, but also through her determination to uphold and retain the *mana* of her people. Her commitment and dedication to hard work enabled her to succeed in achieving benefits for her people.

Riperata Kahutia was born in 1839. *Makauri* or *Taruheru* are noted as being her place of birth, within the whenua of *Te Whānau ā Iwi* (Hall, R. De Z. & Oliver, S. 2007). Her tribal affiliations were to *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki* and *Rongowhakaata* through her father *Kahutia*. Her grandfather *Ruku* was of *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki*, while her grandmother *Turākau* was of *Ngai Tāwhiri, Rongowhakaata*. *Riperata's*

affiliation to *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti* came through her mother *Uaia*. Predominantly she aligned herself with *Te Whānau ā Iwi*, a hapū of *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*



Whakapapa 6 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Her father *Kahutia* was one of the principal leaders of *Tūranganui ā Kiwa*, a descendant upon whom all the main lines from the ancestor of *Ruapani* converged. *Kahutia* finds a place in Pākehā histories because of his resistance to the pressures imposed by the British Crown upon the local *Māori* of *Tūranga*. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, he championed the Repudiation Movement and publicly revealed the deception engaged in by some of the missionaries.

Evidence cited in family *whakapapa* records suggests that *Riperata* was the youngest child of *Kahutia*. She had two other known siblings, both older sisters. They were *Taiheke* and *Kataraina*. *Taiheke* features as a landowner during the Native Land Court proceedings. Little else has been discovered about *Taiheke* in this present research. *Kataraina* was older than *Riperata*. According to family *whakapapa* papers, her mother was *Rawinia*. *Kataraina* married *Petera Honotapu* of the *Rongowhakaata* tribe, and they had no issue.

Riperata married *Mikaere Tūrangi* of *Ngai Tāwhiri, Rongowhakaata*. He was the son of *Paratene Tūrangi/Pōtoti*, a *rangatira* of *Rongowhakaata*. *Paratene* was one of the *Tūranga rangatira* who signed the Treaty of *Waitangi* in 1840 under the name of “*Tūrangi Pōtoti*”. It is probable that the union of *Riperata* and *Mikaere* was a deliberately arranged marriage. They were both descendants of *rangatira*, and together they would potentially have a greater bargaining power amongst their people. A note of interest is *Riperata* does not forego her maiden name.

The union of *Mikaere* and *Riperata* produced three children, *Runga te Rangi Kahutia*, *Heni Materoa* and *Mikaere Pare Keiha*. Tragically, *Runga te Rangi* died in his youth, following a drowning accident on 27 August, 1869 (private family files). The following year, 1870, *Mikaere Pare Keiha* was born. He was named in remembrance of his older brother. *Pare* signifying a band worn on the hat of *Runga te Rangi*, and *Keiha* being the *Māori* term for *Acacia*. *Acacia* is a flower that *Runga te Rangi* wore in the band of his hat which was discovered at the site of his death. Thus ‘*Pare Keiha*’ honours the oldest child of *Riperata* and *Mikaere* (Keiha, P. 2008. Interview, Auckland). *Runga te Rangi* signed in conjunction with

other members of *Te Whānau ā Iwi* the 1857 land deed. This was the first sale of a block of land to the Crown, originally bought by the Crown in order to establish a public cemetery.

Heni Materoa was born in 1859. According the Māori Land Court records, she was also known as *Te Huinga Pani*. Later, she was known and recognised as Lady Carroll, and became famous for her generosity, and her gracious manner to all who encountered her, Māori and *Pākehā* alike. Her marriage to Sir James Carroll was a happy, compatible union. However, they did not have children of their own. Instead they adopted a child of her younger brother *Pare Keiha*, whom they raised as their own. Together they went on to adopt more children, and *whāngai(ed)* many more according to interviewee *Heni Nikora* (interview, Hamilton. 30/09/2008):

the lady was generous, they say she had thirty *whāngai*. *Te Huinga* couldn't speak English, so *Matehaere* Halbert travelled with the lady. Aunty *Putiputi* (Lardelli) was selected to bathe her, and looked upon her as an *ariki*, a *rangatira*. They say her mother was treated the same way, but the lady I actually saw those certain things. She would stand on her balcony and wave a white hankerchief to me and my brother Charlie while we were walking to *Awapuni* school. This meant she wanted to talk to *Poua* (*Heni's koroua*) so her chauffer Donald *Haronga* would pick *Poua* up because the *reiri* wanted to talk. Her house was on *Kahutia* Street, and ours was on *Awapuni* Rd. *Awapuni* Rd is the oldest street in Gisborne you know. She gifted the land to build *Awapuni* school. Her balcony faced the sea, but her room was out of bounds. We were not allowed upstairs, we had to stay downstairs. But one day we asked Nāti Matchitt (another one of the lady's aids) if we could take a peek inside that room, well, I was with Ingrid Searancke and she opened up that door. Inside we could see the lady talking to a bird, you know she fed that bird whatever she ate. That bird was a *kaitiaki* that was called *manu tipua*. It was through this bird that the lady would know who had died during the wars, and she would send messages to our soldiers through

the bird. You don't believe that do you, but I saw it with my own eyes. I was ten. Poua died in (19)26 and the lady died in (19)29. She never got to see the opening of *Poho o Rawiri* marae when *Api(Ngata)* made *Mihikore* the Queen to take the lady's place. I was thirteen and my sister Lizzy was sixteen.

Sheila Robinson (2007) claims *Riperata* objected to the marriage of *Heni Materoa* to James Carroll for religious reasons since James belonged to the Catholic Church, whilst *Heni Materoa* was Anglican. Although there was a definite issue between *Riperata* and the Catholic Church, which is explored further on in this text, another possibility may explain *Riperata*'s hesitancy to grant her acceptance of this marriage. It may have been that the elders of the tribe of *Heni Materoa* were more concerned with her marrying someone who would match her status. After all, she was the *puhi* of her tribe, and she belonged to a *rangatira* family in *Tūranga*. *Heni Materoa* and James Carroll were married on 4 July 1881, in Wellington. She died in 1930, four years after her husband. Together they are entombed in a vault at *Houhoupiko urupā*, more commonly known now as *Makaraka* cemetery.

Mikaere Pare Keiha was born in 1870. He married *Maraea Waara*, and they had four children, *Whare Carroll*, *Whetu Keiha*, *Kingi Areta Keiha*, and *Riperata Kahutia Keiha*. Pare Keiha enjoyed pastimes such as horse racing, bowling, and golf. While his sister took on the formal role in the family, *Pare* also participated in and contributed to causes of the time, but he preferred to work in the background. He too was respected and known for his generous nature and spirit gifting large portions of land as golf courses, race courses and a bowling club. These are examples of his gifts to the community; the family also gave land to build schools and house orphaned children. He died in 1943.

Riperata Kahutia was well known for her generosity and compassionate nature towards orphaned children, Māori and Pākehā alike. In the *Whatatuna* court case, witnesses testified that *Karaitiana Te Ao Marama* expressed a wish for his land interests to be taken up by *Riperata Kahutia* after his death. Even though *Riperata* was not his birth mother, she had nurtured and taken care of him in the same capacity as a mother figure. He had moved away from his home town, and it was *Riperata* who sent money to ensure he was taken care of. *Karaitiana* died with no children.

Bill *Keiha* relays a story of Riperata taking in orphaned *Pākehā* children. She would feed and house these children in exchange for reading and writing lessons. She called these children “retainers” (pers comm, 4/10/08).



Figure 1: Riperata Kahutia (Barker Family)

Figure 1 is a copy of the only photograph known to exist of her. It is formatted in the *carte de viste* style which was very popular during the 1860s. The original photograph is held by the Barker family, one of the early Pākehā settler families to arrive in the *Tūranga* district. At their one hundredth family reunion, the Barker family gave a copy of the photograph of *Riperata* to her family. In this photograph, she is shown with a *moko kauae*. She is dressed in a European manner, wears a cross hung from a necklace, and appears to have a veil on her head. It is possible that this is a wedding photograph which would put her age at between sixteen to eighteen years old. While the *Whatatuna* case was heard in the Native Land Court, in 1858 *Riperata* was living with *Paratene Tūrangi*, her father-in-law, at a pā called *Te Uira*, when she was about twenty years of age. The previous year 1857, she signed along with her husband and son (*Runga te Rangi*) the deed for the first sale of *Tūranga* land to the crown. The cross *Riperata* is wearing in the image is bare, typical Anglican style, and is not a Catholic crucifix.

Her father *Kahutia* was reputed to have been one of the last practising *tā moko* artists of *Tūranga* so it is probable he placed the *moko kauae* on his daughter. The *moko* meant that she carried signs of high status and distinguished descent among Māori. When she was in Pākehā company, her *moko* marked her as different, even when she wore European-style clothing. Mead (1997) claims *rangatira* dressed differently from other people and were usually clearly defined in social gatherings because they wore superior cloaks and were well tattooed.

Christian/Catholic

Despite the animosity between her father *Kahutia* and Reverend William Williams, *Riperata* aligned herself with the Anglican Church. *Kahutia* supported the Catholic Church, but *Riperata's* allegiance was Church of England. The reasons for this situation will be explored below.

The following extracts from the journals of William Williams in 1847 (Porter, F. 1974) indicate the disharmony developing between *Kahutia* and Williams.

Went to see *Whata* and *Kahutia* today about a quarrel with *Ngāti Maru*.

They were civil but not being under the influence of Christianity there is less hold upon them (May 14 1847)

Went in the afternoon to see *Whata* and *Kahutia*...who have been engaged in some months in the heathen practice of tattooing. This work was commenced in anger against the Christian party (Dec 13 1847)

Whata and *Kahutia* with all the tattooed party were at the service for the first time, but *Kahutia* walked out during the sermon, offended it is said at something I said (Dec 19, 1847)

Part of the dispute between *Kahutia* and Williams was about a land issue. The land allocated for building his missionary school at *Waerenga a Hika* had been deemed by Williams as insufficient. He wanted more. *Kahutia* felt insulted by William's demand for land. Christianity was being promoted and taught as the way for Māori to achieve honesty, righteousness and respect. However, *Kahutia* began to see that Christianity was simply another avenue for land acquisition. He reinstituted traditional Māori practices, such as *tāmoko*. So offended was *Kahutia* by Williams that he withdrew his support and patronage of the Anglican Church and became a follower of the Catholic faith. Williams managed to offend other

Māori chiefs also. *Raharuhi Rukupō* was a main carver for the church at *Whakatō*, and Williams insulted him by calling the carvings hideous and grotesque.

Education

It is possible that *Riperata*, together with other women of *Tūranga*, attended formal classes as young girls. *Riperata Kahutia*, *Keita* Wyllie and *Pīmia Aata* all received some form of education according to Reweti Kohere (1994. p 166): “*ko Keita Waere, ko Riperata Kahutia, ko Pimia Ata, he wahine pūkōrero, i whakaakona ki te whare wānanga.*”

Since missionary schools had been established in the *Tūranga* area, *Riperata* may have experienced this type of schooling. In 1840 William Williams arrived from the Bay of Islands to run the school at *Whakatō*, *Manutuke*. Her father *Kahutia* was progressive in outlook, and would no doubt encourage his children to grasp the teachings of the new culture. In addition to the missionary school, *Riperata* was already exposed to Europeans in her everyday life due through the union of William Brown and her cousin *Hinewhātōterangi*. No doubt this would have been advantageous to her grooming and upbringing. Other Māori women of her era also appear to have attended some form of formal education. These women appear regularly throughout the Native Land Court hearings; strong, able, forthright women.

There were so many requests for books from Māori that Bishop William Williams was unable to meet the requirements. The scriptures offered new ideas foreign to Māori, but also appealing. The European presence had also brought economic

stimulus, and the opportunity to enjoy some of the advantages of the Pākehā way of life was of immense interest to Māori.

Riperata became literate beyond the religious material that was provided by the missionaries. She was exposed to the English language through her association with various colonists and through befriending Pākehā orphans left stranded by ships in *Tūranga*. Bill Keiha (interview 04/10/2008) revealed:

Granny Maraea (wife of Pare Keiha, son of Riperata) lived down at Disraeli St...all I learnt was...they befriended what you'd call people that had come over on the sailing boats and couldn't get anywhere...instead of being put on a boat to the convicts in Australia they called them retainers..Riperata and Heni Materoa they'd find a poor little Pākehā fella running around with a hole in his pants and living underneath a tree and they would take them and she would awhi them up, and thats how they would learn in conjunction with the bible. They had someone who could interpret the English, the English language

Oratory Skills

The following tribute was published in a Hawkes Bay newspaper in 1885:

Many authors of works on New Zealand have borne testimonial to the inborn gift which the native race possesses for public speaking, but as a specimen of *Māori* oratory nothing could excel the peroration delivered by *Riperata Kahutia* on the occasion of reviewing the evidence and supporting her claim to the *Wai o Hiharora* block...this persistent native pleaded her cause before the court...with such clear sightedness and ability which was the admiration of all the hearers and cannot fail to place her amongst the most intelligent of her race. For over an hour without wavering for one instant from the important matter at hand, and without the slightest hesitancy, this chiefteness spoke with the fervid eloquence which an all abiding sense of the justice of one's cause generally inspires and was listened

to throughout with riveted attention, even by those who most determinedly opposed her claim. Such is the power of eloquence.¹

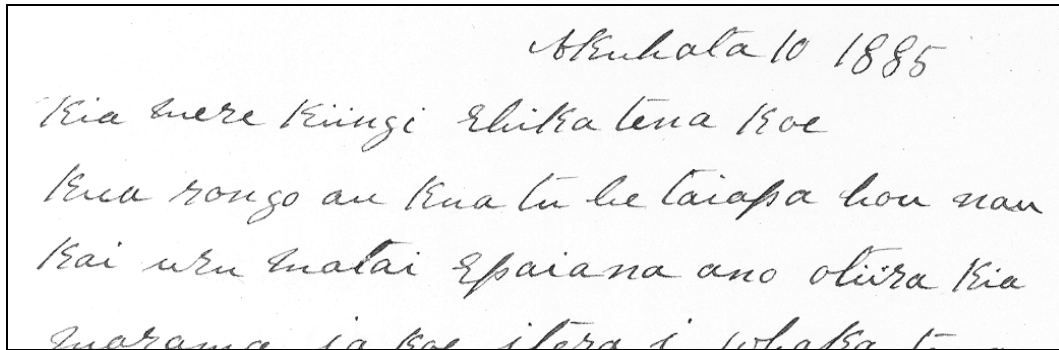
Notably, even her opponents were captivated by her oratory skills. Her belief and commitment to her cause was such that this would have been a motivating factor for her people to supporting her as their *kaiwhakahaere*.

Kaiwhakahaere

Riperata Kahutia became a strong advocate for the survival of her people. Her determination to resist injustices imposed upon her and her people, her strong leadership endeared her to them. To have land is to have *mana*, and *Riperata* fought to retain the land of herself and her people according to their customary rights. As Mead says (2003) knowledge is based in land, identity is anchored to it, and to be landless is to lose your soul.

The *mana whakapapa* she possessed automatically gave her *rangatira* status. This was complemented by her personal characteristics and her sharp intellect and she became the choice of many well known figures of *Tūranga* to be their *kaiwhakahaere* entrusting her with their personal *whakapapa*. This information was recorded and documented in little notebooks, which were then studied and probably memorised by *Riperata* so that she could present cases to the Court to the best advantage. Other personal information included information of historical sites and boundary lines. Her knowledge of tribal lore was extensive and she could read and write in *Māori*. Following is an example of her handwriting taken from her personal papers held by her family.

¹ Standard and Peoples Advocate, 07/07/1875



10/10/1885
Kia mere kiingi kaitiā tēna koe
Kua tongo au kua tū he taitapa hou mān
Kai ūnū matai kōpāiana ano otiā kua
mārama ia koe itera i whakā t-

Figure 2: Sample of Riperata's handwriting

And to top it off, her acquaintance with Captain W.H. Tucker helped extend her knowledge of land court procedures and legislations.

Captain W.H.Tucker

As was the practice in those times, *Riperata* employed a settler to act as her land agent. This helped cross the cultural barrier of communication, and misinterpretation. *Paratene Tūrangi* had used John Harris in a similar role, her father *Kahutia* had worked with William Brown, and now *Riperata* consulted William Henry Tucker. Arriving in *Tūranga* in 1866, Tucker was employed as a sheep farmer, then as the secretary for Captain George Read, who became a prominent trader and businessman in the district. Amongst other jobs he eventually became a land agent for *Riperata Kahutia*.

Europeans were astonished at how successfully *Riperata* conducted her business affairs, not realising that she meticulously kept records, and documented all her land and money transactions, just as Europeans did. Perhaps the fact that she was a large land owner added to speculation that she was extremely wealthy, but it must be emphasised that she was not a land seller. With the exception of the thirty

acres she sold to Tucker and the early deeds of sale of limited areas to the Crown in 1857 and 1869 to the govt, she did not sell her land. She was a great example of how Māori could retain land, despite political and social pressures. Innuendo surfaced suggesting malicious, suspicious dealings on the accountability by Tucker with her land shortly after her death due to the fact that he began to show signs of overnight wealth. When she needed cash she went to this well known early Gisborne resident and signed for him papers which she understood to be receipts for the cash received, but one writer has suggested these were land transfers cunningly presented (McGregor, M. 1973).

Riperata recognised the importance of uniting her people; therefore it is likely she strategically formed a relationship with *Ngai Tāwhiri* to establish a front that would unite them as a single collective. This type of strategy would ensure the survival of these *hapū*. *Ngai Tāwhiri* descended from the ancestor *Kahunoke*, and *Te Whānau ā Iwi* descended from *Te Nonoi*, *Kahunoke* being the brother of *Te Nonoi*. They were key ancestors in the claims brought before the Native Land Court, which sought to have the Court recognise the ancestral boundaries of this pair who occupied both sides of the *Tūranganui* River. Through unity and partnership it may have been possible to maintain a firmer platform within the ever- changing dynamics of Poverty Bay and, to negotiate with a stronger sense of self determination. The influx of settlers had increased dramatically, and therefore the potential to demand a higher price for land leases meant that *Riperata* and her people could be beneficiaries if they collaborated.

Riperata negotiated many lucrative land deals. Although she was well known for her oratory skills, she was also a well-informed business woman. Reverend T.S Grace, who was a very successful businessman before joining the Christian Missionary Society and he noted:

I can do nothing but use any influence I may have with the natives against the principle of the sale of their lands ... the natives have attained a degree of intelligence beyond what might have been expected in so short a period. Their motto is now 'ploughs, sheep and ships'... they appear in a body to lay hold of these ideas with a giant grasp (Mackey.J.A.1949)

Whether or not T.S Grace was directly involved in nurturing and educating *Riperata* about the management of her land holdings is uncertain. Certainly at an early stage of her life she understood the business world of the Pākehā.

Riperata's role as a leader demanded much of her time. She had every confidence in the future for herself and her people. She epitomised the ability to adjust and adapt to changes and was very clear about her objectives. Wi Pere (MLCMB, Vol 10, 1886, p 172) told the Native Land Court that chieftainship involved the ability to keep boundaries intact; the ability to collect and keep people in pā occupation; hospitality towards visitors; and *he toa ki te whawhai*. *Te Rangikaheke* shares similar views, although he was predominantly concerned with the outcomes of warfare (Mead, 1997). The views of *Pere* and *Rangikaheke* are similar in their emphasis on traditional values. *Riperata* was an exemplar of some of the rangatira qualities discussed by *Pere* and *Rangikaheke*.

Whānau Relationships

Riperata maintained close relationships with her relatives. Establishing *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* jointly with *Te Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri* helped to heal a long-standing dispute between *Te Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri*. A historical dispute over a land block (*Aohuna*) between the hapū *Ngai Te Kete* (*Te Whānau ā Iwi*) and *Ngāti Hinewhanga* (*Ngai Tāwhiri*) involving ploughing rights on a particular piece of land had resulted in much ill feeling between the two parties. *Ngāti Hinewhanga* enlisted the assistance of their neighbours *Ngāti Maru*, which deepened the dispute. In order to find a resolution this quarrel was presented to the runanga (a community-based group that governed and made decisions on social issues regarding the community). The *rūnanga* were unable to come to a decision at that time. Later on, however, *Ngai Te Kete* discovered that this block had been given by the *rūnanga* to *Ngāti Maru*, and they were very upset about this. Seeking a fairer hearing, *Ngai Te Kete* decided to travel to Auckland to request an audience with the European authorities. Amongst this group of *Ngai Te Kete* representatives was Riperata's husband *Mikaere* (*Mika*) *Tūrangi*. When this group returned to Tūranga they not only had company in the form of Mr White and *Mokena Kohere* (a very loyal Ngāti Porou chief) but they were also in possession of a Great British Flag. *Riperata* explained in the Native Land Court:

The Tūranga tribes were not loyal at the time, the tribes supporting the King movement....The flag was hoisted at the grave of Te Aohuna which caused jealousy in the minds of Ngāti Maru and other tribes, about the time this flag was hoisted a Hauhau flag was hoisted on the opposite side of the river and this formed a second reason of dispute about Te Aohuna. The British flag was hoisted by my people to signify disregard of the decision of the chiefs (Runanga) in giving the land to Ngāti Hinewhanga and Ngāti Maru. That flag was afterwards taken to Makauri, by this time Kereopa had arrived in this district and I and my

people removed to Turanganui in fear of the Hauhau's (Kahutia, R. MLCMB, Vol 10, 1883, p. 117).

Several historians have written about the hoisting of the British flag in *Tūranga*. Judith Binney (1995, p. 44); incorrectly claims *Titirangi* as being the place where the flag was raised. She also notes that in 1860 Harris contended that the *Tūranga* district sympathised with the *Kingitanga*, not necessarily the *Kingitanga*'s authority but their emphasis to resist land sales, and wished to reclaim land that had already been sold. Ultimately it was *Mokena Kohere* of *Ngāti Porou* and *Rongowhakaata* who hoisted the flag on *Ngai Te Kete* land, signalling support for the Crown.



Figure 3: Hoisted flag at Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae

Flagstaffs and flags were potent images for Māori, for the post (*rāhui*) and the flag claimed the land. It was a statement of their autonomy (Binney, J. 1995.).

Te Pou o Tūranga

Conversely, according to *Te Kani Te Ua*:

Mana ki Tūranga was a carved post erected by Kahutia at a spot now known as Riperatas cemetery on the banks of the Tareheru River. It was to signify the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in this district. His fellow chiefs conferred with Kahutia in an effort to persuade him not to support the establishment of the Catholic Church but rather to remain adherent to the already established Church of England. Kahutia compromised by agreeing that he alone would be baptised into the Catholic Church and that his family would agree not to 'trample upon' the request of his fellow chiefs. (Fowler, L. 1974)

Rongo Halbert claims '*Te Pou o Tūranga*' is the correct name for the post. *Te Pou o Tūranga* is also the name as mentioned earlier in the narrative of the area where *Riperata* and her father *Kahutia* are currently interred. The boundary was the back of the *Taruheru* River, encompassing into what the streets now known as Tuckers Rd and Nelson Rd.

It is highly likely the *pou* erected by Kahutia was intended to act as a form of *rāhui*. Many forms of *rāhui* exist. The institution of *rāhui* was a form of *tapu*, therefore should be instituted by a person of *mana*, otherwise it would not be effective (Best, E. 1924).

The narrative suggests that the type of *rāhui* *Kahutia* was enforcing was a no trespassing type where resources may have needed to be protected, or it may have been politically motivated so that *Kahutia* as preventing any further encroachment into that particular area. He may also have designated that area as a possible location for the Catholic Church to establish their own mission facilities, or he

may have deliberately been establishing and declaring his mana and ownership over that area. The pou may have combined most of these considerations.

The naming of *Te Pou o Tūranga* could refer to the story of *Pourangahua* and *Ruakapanga* (Reed, A.W. 1977). *Pou* may be a shortened term for *Pourangahua*. This is a well known narrative in *Tūranga* which tells the story of how the kūmara tuber was brought from Hawaiiki to *Tūranga*. *Pourangahua* had been a passenger on the *Horouta* canoe that hit a sandbank at *Ohiwa* in the Bay Of Plenty. Some of the cargo was lost overboard, including kūmara seeds. *Pourangahua* decided to return to *Hawaiiki* to gather a fresh supply and bring them to *Aotearoa*. While he was in *Hawaiiki* he asked his Uncle *Ruakapanga* if he could use one of his two great birds to carry him back to *Aotearoa*, as he wanted to hasten his return in order to take advantage of the springtime, a prime opportunity to plant kūmara. *Ruakapanga* gave his consent but under certain conditions, one of them being that *Pourangahua* was not to ill treat his bird under any circumstances. *Pourangahua* agreed and he and the bird with the cargo of kūmara tuber departed *Hawaiiki* for *Aotearoa*. During the journey, *Pourangahua* became impatient and plucked a feather from the bird in order to hasten its travel, thereby breaking his promise to *Ruakapanga* that he would treat the bird with great care. This feather descends toward the island, *Tokapuhuruhuru*, more commonly known as Aerials Rock. Eventually this feather transformed and grew into a *Makauri* or *kahikatea* tree, and made its way ashore. The great forest which incorporated *Makauri* and *Piipihakao* right out to *Waerenga a Hika* takes its origins from the feather of the bird that carried *Pourangahua*. Sir A.T Ngata notes in his translation of the

mōteatea Po! Po! (Composed by *Enoka te Pakaru*) states that the *Makauri* tree became the emblem of *Te Aitanga a Māhaki*.

Ko Makauri anake i mahue atu
I waho i Tokaahuru
Ko te peka i rere mai ki uta ra
Hei kura mo Mahaki

Death

Riperata Kahutia passed away on the 10 June 1887, at the home of her daughter in *Whataūpoko* at the age of 48 (“Death”, 1887). She had been afflicted by tuberculosis. Only a month before her death the onset of pneumonia had worsened her physical condition. She was interred at the cemetery *Te Pou o Tūranga* on 14 June (“untitled”, 1887). Archdeacon William Leonard Williams conducted the service. Buried also at this cemetery is her father *Kahutia*, whom she had exhumed from *Mātokitoki* valley a few years earlier and moved to *Te Pou o Tūranga*. Today, this burial site can be located behind the Leaderbrand packhouses on Nelson Rd, *Makauri, Tūranga*. This cemetery is currently in a much neglected state and has been overtaken by the growth of boxthorn weeds.



Figure 4: Riperata Kahutia Urupā (circa. 1986)

She was succeeded by her daughter *Heni Materoa* and her son *Mikaere Pare Keiha*.

In 1906, a monument was unveiled at *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae* in memory of *Riperata Kahutia*. An angel stands at the top of the monument, which is at least fourteen feet high from base to tip. The following inscription is on the monument:

He whakamaramatanga kia Riperata Kahutia

I mate nei i te 10 o Hune 1887

He wahine i arohatia, i whakanuia i tona oranga,

He wahine whaiwhakaaro, piripono ki te Kuini

During the speeches at the unveiling of the monument, Wi Pere said, “*Me i Tāne ana a Ri, kua kore ia ake e tū hei mema i ngā wā i tū ai ia hei mema, kua riro i tōna hoa tōna tura* (sic)”.

As James Belich has observed (1996, p. 259) rivalry for *mana* continued, even in death. In the late nineteenth century ‘old currencies’ included impressive hui and tangi, and the building of meeting houses. By the early twentieth century what Belich calls fresh currencies included such things as tombstones, bridal dresses, and buggies. Even in death, Riperata Kahutia continued to be a revered figure.



Figure 5: Riperata Kahutia Monument

Summary

Riperata Kahutia was a daughter, sister, mother, wife, visionary and modern thinker greatly admired by her contemporaries, both Māori and Pākehā. She dedicated her life to the struggle of her people. During a period of intense social and political change, she fought for the survival of her people by resisting the selling of land. *Riperata*'s approach to maintaining and increasing land holdings during a period of rapid land loss was both innovative and successful. Despite the efforts of Pākehā to detribalise Māori, *Riperata* remained committed to promoting the interests of her people by retaining and securing their land rights since to be without land, is to be without *mana*.

Chapter 4

He whenua, he wahine i mate ai te tangata

Aim

This chapter will examine the methods adopted by the British Crown to move land out of Māori ownership, and into the hands of Pākehā. This will be a historical overview analysing how Māori lost land, and how this impacted upon land holdings in the *Tūranga* district.

Land Disputes, Boundary Shifting

Article 2 of the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi declares that, ‘Māori leaders and people, collectively and individually, were confirmed and guaranteed ‘exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties’. The signing of the treaty in 1840 also gave the Crown exclusive pre-emptive land purchasing rights, and, except when Crown pre-emption was waived, Māori were only allowed to sell to the Crown. The government then re-sold that land to colonists at a much higher price. Māori quickly realised that the government were making a substantial profit at their expense. The government was playing the middle man role, and consequently was reaping significant financial returns. None of this profitable windfall was being seen by Māori, so that financially Māori were taken advantage of. Before long, protests, petitions and complaints from Māori were being received by the government. The early land sales placed enormous pressure on tribal authority. Whilst most *rangatira* were in favor of establishing friendly relations between

Pākehā and themselves, there were many *rangatira* who were opposed and resistant to selling land.

In 1853 the idea of establishing an independent, self governing unit controlled by Māori surfaced, eventually becoming the *Kingitanga*. Māori wanted a avenue that would promote unity and protect their lands. An embargo was placed on land sales by some Māori and land selling was heavily discouraged by others. This embargo led to the ‘infamous land wars’ in several districts. Despite these conflicts, chiefs such as *Wiremu Tamihana* firmly believed that the Māori King and the British Queen could work together, and that the Treaty had provided a place for this type of partnership (Orange, 2004).

Scholarly studies by non indigenous people have sometimes struggled to comprehend the connection indigenous peoples have with land. Ownership of land did not necessarily equate to wealth and health in colonial New Zealand, Māori were poor and were forced into dependence on rural wage earning, according to Boast (2008). This may be a valid opinion from a monetary point of view, but ‘wealth’ should never be mistaken for *tūrangawaewae* or *mana*. Historians usually view land as an economic commodity, whereas indigenous perspectives encompass cultural and spiritual connections in belonging to the land. For example, Chief Seattle of the Suquamish clan responded to a proposed treaty where Indians were persuaded to sell two million acres of land for \$150,000.00 with this statement:

How can you buy or sell the sky, the warmth of the land? The idea is strange to us. If we so not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can

you buy them? Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. The white man's dead forget the country of their birth when they go walk among the stars. Our dead never forget this beautiful earth, for it is the mother of the red man. We are part of the earth. The rocky crests, the juices in the meadows, the body heat of the pony, and man, all belong to the same family.

(www.thetalkshop.in/asset/chiefseattle.pdf)

Māori *whakataukī* encapsulate the same kinds of sentiments as expressed by Chief Seattle: 'the land is my soul, and it is my *tūrangawaewae*. Even though I accept I am going to lose my land, there is an element that can never be sold, because it is in me. You do not understand this, and you never will. How can you? You don't belong and never will. I have an ancestral connection by way of *whakapapa*, you do not'.

Individual Land Ownership

A Native Land Purchase Department was formally set up in 1853 at the suggestion of Donald McLean, the chief land purchase officer. The first major piece of legislation to formalise the transfer of land was the Native Lands Act which was passed in 1862. It replaced customary land rights with freehold titles from the Crown, enabling Māori to sell or lease directly to settlers (Ward, A. 1999).

The 1862 Act determined the customary rights of ownership in an area of land, and then issued a certificate of title in favour of the appropriate tribe, community, or individuals. This certificate could be exchanged for a title granted by the Crown, whereupon customary title was extinguished. Owners were then free to sell, lease exchange their land interests to whomever they chose (Orange, C. 2004).

The 1862 Act stipulated that the land for which a title was granted had to be surveyed. This expensive exercise was usually paid for by the Maori claimant. On top of court expenses, interpreter's fees, travel and accommodation expenses, the costs of rehearing's and other expenses, many Māori were left in the situation of having to sell their land in order to pay for their claim costs. It is ironic that Māori had to pay very heavily to secure Crown recognition of titles to land that had been in their possession for hundreds of years (Ward, A. 1999).

Commentaries from colonial soldiers emphasised their understanding of what the 1862 Act was designed to achieve. One said 'the legislation would enable us in time to become masters of the country'. Another commented 'it would put the Europeans in possession of Native lands, in fact make us masters of the country, which was the object desired'. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the Native Land Acts, of which that of 1862 was the first, were primarily designed to move land from Māori ownership, into the hands of the colonists. Thus, protection of Māori land rights as stated in Article 2 of the Treaty was never intended to be honoured. Whereas the Native Land Act of 1862 made decisions through a panel of chiefs (*rūnanga*) under the authority of a judge, the 1865 Native Land Act abandoned the panel of chiefs, replacing them with a judge and one or two Māori assessors. This was a system where Māori still had the opportunity to claim rights in a land block and to have their right in that particular block investigated, but judgements made in favour of *hapū* or *iwi* were rare, and instead judgements were made awarding individual title usually consisting of no more than ten owners per block. So what happened if there were more than ten owners according to

traditional custom? It is this act which recognises legitimate owners but eliminates other legitimate owners simply because of the design of the system. Politicians justified the act as encouraging amalgamation, equality of rights and the rapid 'Europeanization' of land (Orange, C. 2004. p. 82).

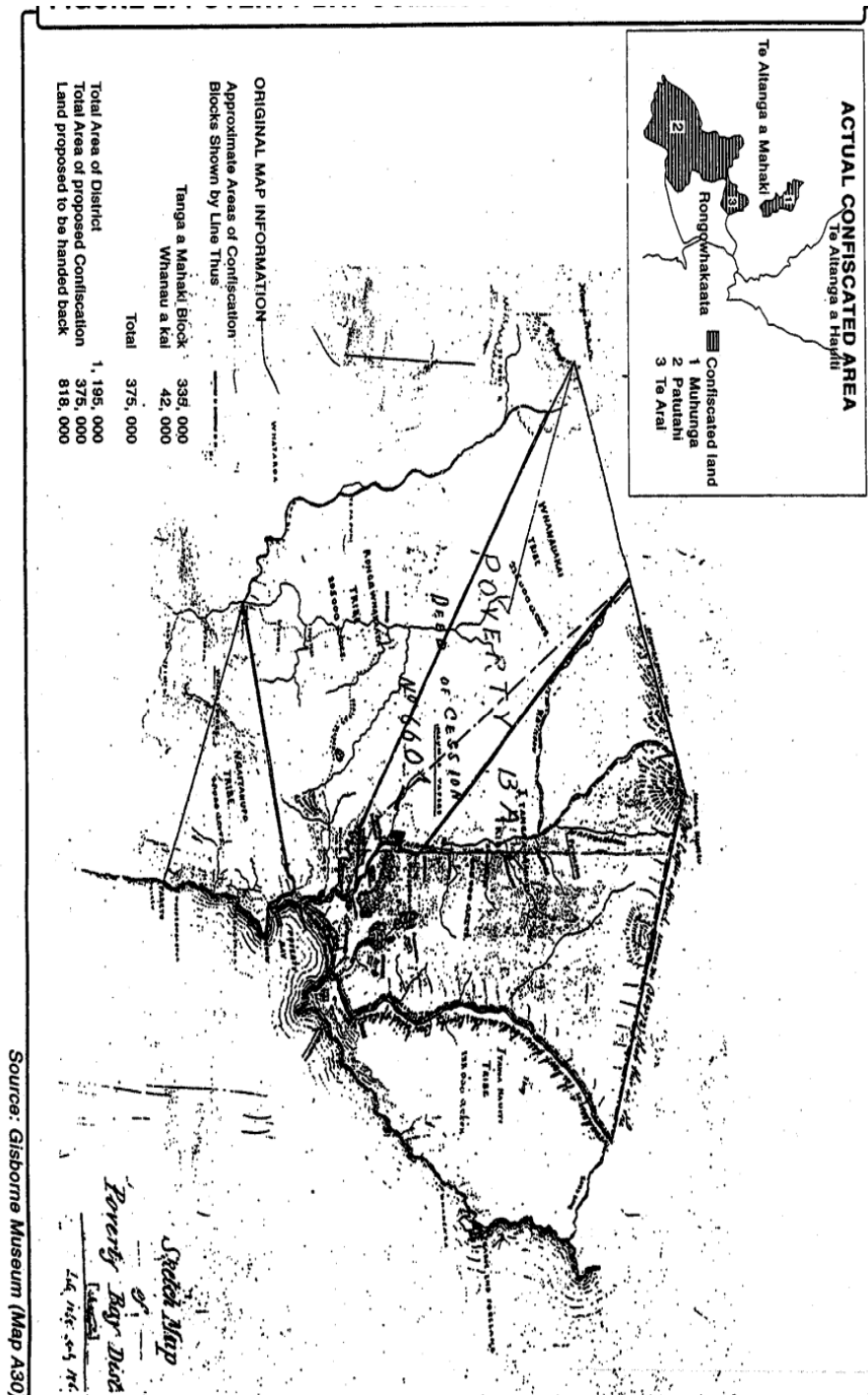
Rebellion Act

The *Waerenga a Hika* episode in 1865 has been called 'the hinge of fate' for the Poverty Bay – East Coast Māori (Oliver, W.H. & Thomson, J.M. 1971, p. 94). *Waerenga a Hika* was the *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki pā* attacked by government troops in 1865, because the Government considered the congregation of *Hauhau* supporters gathered at this pā to be engaged in 'rebellion'. The Stafford Ministry was in power at the time, and The Premier, Edward Stafford had promised that he would end the 'troubles' on the coast. His instructions that peace must be enforced in the Poverty Bay district by expelling all who had come there as emissaries (followers) of the *Hauhau* cause (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004). After the destruction of *Waerenga a Hika*, the government used the feelings of vulnerability amongst Māori as an opportunity to acquire large tracts of land for establishing military quarters and to compensate '*kupapa*' soldiers. The Government passed an Act called the 'rebellion act', which essentially meant if identified as a follower or supporter of the *Hauhau* movement, you would be expelled from the Tūranga district. Additionally and significantly, all your claims to land would be extinguished if you were a *Hauhau*.

Poverty Bay Deed of Cession

In December 1868, *Tūranga* Māori signed a deed of cession with the Crown, through which they surrendered approximately 1.195 million acres of land. Two hundred and seven nine *Tūranga* Māori from *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki*, *Rongowhakaata* and *Ngai Tāmanuhiri* (*Ngai Tahupō*) signed this deed, which included the following provision: ‘loyal’ Māori were allowed three months to lay a claim before the court, in order to provide ‘proof’ of land ownership. The term loyal Māori was considered to mean those who did not support the *Hauhau* movement. The Poverty Bay Commission set up and was empowered to hear these claims. One of the tasks of this Commission was to determine whether any of these customary owners submitting claims were according to the Crown’s definition, rebels. According to the regulations under the 1863 Act being identified as a ‘rebel’ automatically disqualified a person’s claim.

Tūranga Māori accepted this offer. There were large Government military forces in the area at the time and anxiety levels among Māori were high. From a tactical point of view, *Tūranga* Māori were in a highly vulnerable position. *Waikato*, *Taranaki* and *Tauranga* had recently endured devastating loss of resources through land wars, with vast amounts of land being confiscated as a consequence. Māori of *Tūranga* were in no position to oppose a similar military onslaught. However, incorporated in the conditions of signing this deed, as already noted, was an opportunity and avenue for Māori to reclaim and repossess their land.



Source: Gisborne Museum (Map A30)

Figure 6: Poverty Bay Deed of Cession Map 1868-1869

The Poverty Bay Commission

The first sitting of the Poverty Bay Commission was held in 1869, where *Tūranga* Māori agreed to cede vast tracts of land, under strict conditions and considerations. Those who signed the deed of cession did so with the proviso that the government would set up a commission that would ‘fairly hear’ the claimants cases, then adjudicate accordingly. Crown grant titles would be issued to the successful claimants. This would bring to an end to the conflict and friction that had developed around land issues. Several early European settlers in the district were involved in these land issues because some claimed proprietorship to blocks of land in the ceded portion of *Tūranga*. Therefore they too, had a very close interest in the decisions of the Commission. The Poverty Bay Commission could only deal with land involved in the ceded portion.

Māori tried to appease the Crown, by offering prime blocks of real estate, thereby forestalling confiscations of the kind that had taken place in *Taranaki*, *Waikato* and the Bay of Plenty. They were already aware of the large confiscations that had taken place in other areas including the adjacent district, Hawkes Bay, where 193,000 acres was taken by the government under the 1863 New Zealand Settlement Act which contained the ‘rebellion clause’. The Hawkes Bay example was significant enough for *Tūranga* Māori to be cautious about future developments. Over two hundred signatories appear on the deed of cession. These included *Riperata* and her family.

Ultimately the Commission was designed as a vehicle for the Crown to acquire more land. Now that the tension of *Te Kooti* and the *Hauhau* movement had settled down, more colonists were interested in taking up land at *Tūranga*, therefore the government needed to have more land at their disposal. Furthermore, the government was still indebted to the military forces supplied by *Ngāti Porou*. The government promised individual blocks of prime land in *Tūranga* in payment for *Ngāti Porou* military support during the early land wars and the *Tūranga* raids. Thus the strategic plan of the government was to create an agency that would find obtain enough land to accommodate the needs of future settlers and to compensate the ‘friendly’ soldiers.

First Land Deed

Discussions about the establishment of a Poverty Bay township took place in 1851, between Donald McLean and local chiefs. At that time no decision was reached between either party. Six years later, in 1857, the first formal land transaction between the Crown and Māori in *Tūranga* was concluded. *Kahutia* and his family were the principal signatories of the land deed, together with the *hapū Te Whānau ā Iwi*. This land sale was originally intended to provide a settlement for a court and offices, as requested by Resident Magistrate H.S Wardell, but was eventually deemed to be too remote from his business district. The section eventually became the first public cemetery of Poverty Bay, commonly known as *Makaraka* cemetery or *Houhoupiko*.

XVIII.—POVERTY BAY DISTRICT.	
1857. 29 January.	Deeds—No. 488.
POVERTY BAY DISTRICT.	TURANGANUI (LAND AT), POVERTY BAY DISTRICT.
TURANGANUI.	Ko matou ko nga rangatira me nga tangata o te Whanau o Iwi e mau nei nga ingoa ki tenei pukapuka e whakaae tika ana i tenei ra i te rua tekau ma iwa o nga ra o Hanuere i te tau o to tatou Ariki Kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma whitu mo matou mo a matou whanaunga me o matou uri katoa kia hokona kia tino tukua rawatia ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia tetahi wahi o to matou kainga kei Turanga hei kainga pumau tonu iho ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu.
Receipt for £25.	A mo to matou tino tuku tino hoko i tenei ra e whakaae ana te Kuini o Ingarani mona kia utua mai ki a matou ki nga pauna moni e waru tekau ma rima ko aua moni kua riro mai ki a matou i tenei ra na Donald McLean te Tino Kai whakarite whenua o Nui Tireni oira i homai e nga ringaringa a Te Watere Kai whakawa.
Boundaries.	Ko nga robe enei ka timata i Taumata-o-te-ra-ka-to ka rere a Taumata-o-Po ka rere atu i kona tae nona ki te pou i Houhoupiko ka rere i kofa a tae atu ki te timatanga o te Wai o Houhoupiko a ka rere i taua manga tae nona ki te awa o Turanganui a ka rere i roto i te awa a ka hono ki Taumata-o-te-ra-ka-to.
	Heoi ra kua oti i a matou te hurihuri te mihi te poroporoaki te tino tuku rawa atu i tenei kainga o a matou tupuna tuku iho ki a matou me ona awa me ona roto me ona wai me ona manga me ona rakau me ona kowhatu me ona otaota me ona wahi parae me ona ngaherehere me ona wahi atahua me ona wahi kino me nga me katoa o runga ranei o te whenua o raro ranei o taua whenua me nga aha noa iho o taua whenua kua tukua katoatia atu e matou i tenei ra e whiti nei hei whenua pumau tonu iho ki a Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani ki nga Kingi Kuini ranei o muri iho i a ia ake tonu atu.
	A mo to matou whakaaetanga ki nga rikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua tuhia iho o matou ingoa me o matou tohu i tenei ra i te rua tekau ma iwa o nga ra o Hanuere i te tau o to tatou Ariki Kotahi mano e waru rau e rima tekau ma whitu.
	A mo te whakaaetanga o te Kuini o Ingarani ki nga tikanga katoa o tenei pukapuka kua tuhia iho te ingoa o Donald McLean Tino Kai whakarite whenua o Nui Tireni e Te Watere Kai whakawa o Turanga.
	DONALD McLEAN, Principal Commissioner. pp. Herbert S. Wardell, R.M.
	Kahutia x. Manahi x. Peters x. Kataraina x. Rungatangi x mokopuna ki a Kauia. Waia, he wahine ki a Kahutia. Hone Hira.
	Heni, he wahine na te Hira x. Riperata x. Paraire x. Mikaero. Hirakingi. Hemi x. Tamehana. Hemi Keps.
	Nga Kai titiro ki enei homaitanga utu me enei tuhituhinga ingoa— Thomas Uren, Senr. Robert Hohos Uren. Joseph G. Baker. Ebenezer Baker, Interpreter, Resident Magistrate's Court, Turanga.
1857. 29 January.	TRANSLATION.
POVERTY BAY DISTRICT.	We the chiefs and people of Te Whanau o Iwi whose names are hereunto attached rightfully agree on this twenty-ninth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven on behalf of ourselves our relations and our descendants who shall be born after us entirely to sell and give up to Victoria the Queen of England to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever a certain portion of our land at Turanga as a lasting possession to the Queen of England for ever.
TURANGANUI.	And in consideration of our entire surrender and sale (of this land) on this day the Queen of England agrees on her part that we should be paid the sum of Eighty five pounds which monies we have this day received from Donald McLean the Chief Land Commissioner of New Zealand but which were delivered to us by Mr. Wardell Resident Magistrate.
Receipt for £25.	
1857-62]	POVERTY BAY DISTRICT.
	693
These are the boundaries, commencing at Taumata o te ra ka to thence to Taumata o Po thence to the stake at Houhoupiko thence to the commencement of the Houhoupiko stream and down the said stream to the river of Turanganui in which river it continues until it meets at Taumata o te ra ka to.	TURANGANUI continued. Boundaries.
Now we have fully considered wept over and bidden farewell to and entirely given up this land bequeathed to us by our ancestors with its streams lakes waters creeks timber minerals pasture plains and forest with its fertile spots and barren places and all above and all below the surface of the said land and everything thereunto appertaining we have entirely given up under the shining sun of this day as a lasting possession to Victoria the Queen of England and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever.	
And in testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this Deed we have hereunto affixed our names and marks on this twenty ninth day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven.	
And in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England to all the conditions of this Deed the name of Donald McLean the Chief Land Commissioner of New Zealand is hereunto affixed by Mr. Wardell Resident Magistrate at Turanga.	
	DONALD McLEAN, Principal Commr. pp. Herbert S. Wardell, R.M. Kahutia x. and 14 other signatures.
Witnesses to these payments and signatures— Thomas Uren, Senr. Robert Hohos Uren. Joseph G. Baker. Ebenezer Baker, Interpreter, Resident Magistrate's Court, Turanga.	
A True Copy of Original Deed and Translation.	H. HANSON TURTON.
Wellington, March 4th, 1875.	

Figure 7: First land deed

However, the 1857 transaction was not the first between Māori and Pākehā in the district. *Kahutia* had made earlier sales or gifts totalling 150 hectares before 1845. In one instance, he gifted 25 hectares to William Brown together with a Māori wife for Brown (she was also a gift from *Kahutia*). William Brown became a close associate of *Kahutia* and was known as the Pākehā of *Kahutia*. These arranged marriages sealed the commitment of the Pākehā to serve their Māori patrons and protectors and in return the dowry for Pākehās was a plot of land. Many Māori *rangatira* established relationships with early settlers, completing the transaction by offering a Māori woman for a wife.

The *mana* of *Kahutia* including his rights over land was endorsed by other *rangatira* of *Tūranga*. During the hearings of the Poverty Bay Commission in 1869, *Henare Ruru* told the Commission: ‘*Kahutia* was the great chief over this land and the principal land owner’, while *Raharuhi Rukupō* testified, “*Kahutia* was the main chief and landholder, he had the right to sell” (Poverty Bay Commission Deeds, July 20, 1869).

The land allocated to Resident Magistrate Wardell in the 1857 deed was considered unsuitable for a township. Trade and commerce were well established in *Tūranga*, but *Makaraka* was quite a distance from the busy port in *Tūranga* that had been developed with very little assistance, and was also a hub of activity. *Riperata* would again have dealings with the government nine years later in 1866, when R.W.Biggs was appointed Resident Magistrate at *Tūranga*. Biggs was given the task of securing a more suitable block of land to establish a township (Hall,

R.de.Z. Notes from Personal Files and Collection, 1990). Riperata was the chief principally concerned but others were involved.

Tūranga Township

The 1869 sale of *Tūranganui* Block 2 provided land for the township of Gisborne. *Riperata Kahutia* was principal land owner of this block, and main signatory involved in the selling of this land, although the final agreement involved parties of other *hapū*. The area was just over 300 hectares for which the signatories received 2000 pounds. *Riperata* and her party originally asked for 20,000 pounds but it is likely that the earlier military activities taken by the Crown and fears of land confiscation persuaded Māori to offer little resistance against the Crown's much lower offer.

Donald McLean had already shown great success in securing purchases of Māori Land throughout the East Cape; it was inevitable that he would eventually seek to buy land in Poverty Bay. The 'raids' of 1865 had slowed the arrival of Pākehā settlers to the district, but this situation was only temporary. The fear of land confiscation under the 'rebel act' threatened dire consequences for all Māori. Any type of resistance or opposition to the 'great colonisation plan' resulted in the obstructing party being punished either through land confiscation or being relocated. *Wharekauri* was an ideal location for the Crown. Almost identical action taken in the United States where the Native American Indians were forced out of their tribal areas onto reservations. Implementing a propaganda based on fear and prejudice, these 'rebels' suffered indignations, reserved only for the

lowest sum of society. Their crime, resistance and obstructing the colonial plan. Colonisation was inescapable.

Consequences of Land Selling

Māori who had sold their land to the government rapidly became aware of the consequences. The initial financial benefits were quick but also temporary. Long term they would become dependant on the Crown, eventually selling all their land for a minimal return. It was difficult for Māori to acquire expensive technology to work the land for profit without falling into debt, or even poverty. Pākehā were far superior in terms of military technology, therefore the threat of war, death and extermination of Māori were very real prospects. Within the settler community were cheats and thieves who worked the system to the disadvantage of Māori, including storekeepers who charged Māori customers outrageous prices for goods, and land sharks who offered quick cash for very little return to the seller.

Non-selling

With the exception of the 1857 and 1869 land sales to the Crown, *Riperata Kahutia* was not a land seller. She recognised the dangers of selling, and although she could not avoid the increasing influence of the Crown, she did not sell. Chapter 5 will examine more closely how she controlled and managed her land interests. The retention of land encompasses the essence of being Māori and this motivated *Riperata* to try to protect and prevent this priceless resource from being lost to Pākehā. A considerable portion of the Māori community was unsettled, and sought direction and guidance. *Riperata* had an enormous challenge in front

of her, to retain not only the land of her ancestors and her followers, but also to provide cultural and economic security for her people.

Pākehā settlers continued to arrive on the shores of *Tūranga*, all seeking the same commodity, land. Agents of the Crown, by now firmly established in the district, constantly sought avenues to purchase Māori land. Pākehā probably perceived unoccupied land as ‘vacant’ or ‘unwanted’ property, thereby enhancing the interest of the settlers or Crown purchaser in acquiring that particular properties. Because of the complex legal system that the Crown had set up to determine Māori title over land, skulduggery, deception and conniving were common place and less honest elements in the settler community were tempted into manipulating and intimidating Māori into selling off their land.

The Native Land Court dramatically affected Māori. It was an institution whose primary role was to provide a means for Pākehā to acquire Māori land. Traditional tribal land which was held communally in the interests of the entire *hapū*, was converted through the court into individual title. A completely alien concept for Māori. The individualisation of titles advantaged settlers in the long term. Once individual title had been decided by the judge, Māori were easy prey for the settlers, and Crown purchaser. Individual land title holders were pursued until they surrendered their interest. Many injustices were committed this way.

Kataraina Kahutia the older half sister of Riperata , told the Native Land Court that she was a victim of this type of harassment. During the *Taruheru* subdivision claims hearings in October 1883; *Kataraina* said she had been unfairly induced by

Henry Tucker and McDonald to sign a deed of covenant. She was intimidated, stalked by these two who cornered her in Wilson's Hotel which she had deliberately entered seeking safety. Tucker and McDonald then locked the front doors of the hotel, and she felt so afraid that she signed the deed. In her statement to the court she explained:

I did not go before Dr Nesbitt by my own accord, but was taken there by McDonald and Tucker. If McDonald said to me to sign, I signed and the same with Tucker. I did sign a deed of covenant dated 2/6/1877 but was so confused by their following me I would have signed anything (MLCMB, Vol 9. 1883, p. 156).

Inducement through intimidation was one of many tactics used Pākehā to gain Māori land. Some settlers resorted to plying Māori landowners with liquor. Storeowners like Read gave credit to Māori, then foreclosed on their mortgages when they were unable to repay their debts on time. For example Māori bought seed, but if at harvesting time the harvest was poor, and their return low, credit extended to purchase the seed could not be paid immediately. Read became wealthy through business like this, he monopolised the local market without competition from other traders for a long time, so he could dictate prices quite freely.

Riperata herself experienced settler bullying tactics like this. Bill Keiha supplies a family narrative:

Her house was in here, there were three sections there and that's where the Major used to go every time he tried to bully her...he'd lean on her front gate with about six troopers with him and they'd all point their muskets at her house, it was bullying. (pers. comm)

The colonial settlers wanted the land, and the Native Land Court was designed to aid them to achieve this, extinguishing customary title, replacing it with a title that could be easily transferred and thereby accelerating the vesting of the title with settlers. So complex was the legal system that confusion and misunderstanding was rife amongst Māori. Many did not have the appropriate literacy or legal skills to deal with the legal niceties of a structured institution.

In presenting a case, Māori claimants were required to recite *whakapapa*, significant landmarks, tribal boundaries, historical stories, and traditional place names in order to prove to the court that they were familiar with that particular piece of land. Claimants needed to show that they were intimate with the land, naming food gathering areas (eel weirs, fishing grounds, pigeon /kaka hunting spots) food cultivations (gardens), and where their houses were. This showed ‘*ahikā*’. Only a people who had lived on that land could supply all this detailed information.

Riperata’s role in Court matters and other activities was as customary *kaiwhakahaere*. Her customary knowledge and her ability to read and write certainly helped her to fulfill this position. She had a repository of *whakapapa* that she kept in notebook, not just her own but other families whose cases she represented as *kaiwhakahaere*. It is little wonder that these precious writings are still treated as *taonga* and even regarded as ‘*tapu*’ by some, since they held the secrets of many generations before and were not common knowledge. They were and are guarded with care and *aroha*.

Riperata meticulously documented money transactions showing her firm grasp of financial matters and maintained records of lease information, rent, dividends paid to shareholders and conveyance of trust deeds, highlighting that she was not only fully informed but more importantly, was trusted by others. Her tribal knowledge was very broad and precise, her presentation and delivery of information before the court was always clear, articulate and eloquent. It is difficult to estimate exactly when she began keeping notes, but she obviously understood the European emphasis on the importance and value of the written word over spoken narratives. She chose to utilise the Native Land Court to try and retain as much land as she could, and to prevent resources being taken by Pākehā. Many people supported her and chose her as their representative, to fight on their behalf and in their best interests.

However, not everyone though shared this viewpoint. *Riperata* was involved in many land disputes involving not just Europeans but between Māori as well. The system of the Native Land Court pitted tribe against tribe, *hapū* against *hapū* and often relative against relative. *Riperata* could not avoid these situations, and had to hold her ground against the claims of others in many controversial court cases which came before the Native Land Court.

Kaiti

This particular case came before the Court twice. On the first occasion *Riperata*'s claim was dismissed due to her own administrative error. She quickly learnt from her mistake and the second time round, she was more thoroughly prepared. She was in a land claim for the land investigation of a block of land of over 2000

hectares. Her rivals were *rangatira* of *Te Aitanga ā Hauiti*, *Hirini Te Kani* and his brother *Rutene Te Eke Tū o te Rangi*. Because she was a *rangatira* of *Te Aitanga ā Māhaki*, there was an unavoidable clash of between tribes with *rangatira* against *rangatira* in a colonial institution. Although *Riperata* had been chosen by her people as the spokesperson for this case, in her list of fellow claimants were other well known *rangatira*, including *Raharuhi Rukupō*, *rangatira* of *Rongowhakaata*. Some of the issues she debated in the courtroom included the *Tūranganui* river, which was never a natural boundary argued *Riperata*:

I am a also a direct descendant of the original owners of this land. My grandfather lived on this land, and when an outside tribe attempted to invade him and his people, he died here, insisting if he were to be killed it would be on his own land. Therefore he died and is buried on this block. Historically, I can recite ancient ancestral stories, that will validate my right to be included as an owner here. I can name historical landmarks, and the stories behind them, I can name the *rāhui* that were placed their, in recent times and in past times. My people still have a '*kaitiaki*' living on this land, his name is *Tahae*, although very old now, he is of *Māhaki* descent and represents myself and my group.

Land Leasing

Pākehā traders and settlers still maintained economically advantageous relations with Māori. *Riperata* maintained a good business relationship with 'the most prominent trader' of the time, G.E.Read whom she leased land to, on which he built a larger store where he began the development of the wharf. Because there was a demand for land, leasing proved to be a profitable market. It is possible *Riperata* believed that if she could demonstrate that her land was being utilised in a 'productive fashion', then the benefits would be multiplied. By showing her



Donald McLean

Donald McLean played a major role in East Coast affairs as the Land Purchase Commissioner for the government. He was also closely associated with *kupapa*, who ultimately contributed enormously to the armed conflict that occurred in Poverty Bay. The views of *Tūranga* people diverged. The district was being encroached upon by not only the colonial settlers, but also by neighbouring tribes. The decision to resist the influx of Pākehā, and their acquisition of land became more and more difficult to avoid, when tribes, were so lacking in unity with each other. McLean took advantage of this situation by aligning himself with Māori allies who he would compensate for their services, provided they carried out his wishes. He assembled a military force, promising them prime real estate in payment for their support. McLean's policy was to use his Māori *kupapa* allies to fight the war, then to confiscate land off 'rebels' to pay for the war (Fargher, R. 2007).

Most *Tūranga* Māori sided with one of the three core groups, the loyalists, the neutrals, and the followers of *Pai Marire* who were also supporters of the *Kingitanga*. Once the East Coast wars were over in 1865, a *Pai Marire* contingent took up residence at *Waerenga Hika*. This is when Stafford ordered McLean to take action, to distinguish between loyalists and rebels. Those who opposed allegiance to the Crown would have their land confiscated, and any known rebels would also lose their land. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 gave the government power to confiscate Māori land. McLean arrived in *Tūranga* in 1865 with 260 *Ngāti Porou* soldiers. There was no negotiation between McLean and local *rangatira*, and he simply issued his ultimatum: swear allegiance or lose your land. Stafford was adamant: 'Māori who took the oath of allegiance and then

broke it, would either be executed or transported or set to hard labour' (Fargher, R. 2007).

What choice did Māori have? What were the women and the children to do? How would mothers ensure security for the young ones? This was possibly, a key reason why women become such prominent claimants during the Native Land Court hearings. Staying aligned to the crown seemed to be the best option to hold onto their land and retain some independence. To lose land, is to lose *mana*. Women played an enormous role in rescuing the land. Without their foresight and intervention, large areas of land could have been lost, never to be recovered at a very early stage.

When McLean returned to *Tūranga* in 1866, he reminded Māori of his earlier warning about fighting and told them that because they had not adhered to his instructions, he would now confiscate their land, which was prime fertile land. Local Māori tried to persuade him to take another block, but he refused, adding that if they took this matter before the Native Land Court he would punish them by taking an even larger portion. He also reminded them that the primary function and purpose of the court was to take the land, as instructed by the government, their objective being to sell it to the colonial settlers, who were very keen to live here in the district.

The Crown needed a cash injection to pay for the war on the East Coast and at *Waerenga a Hika*. The method they chose to achieve this was to create legislation designed primarily to acquire land. Following the *Waerenga a Hika* conflict,

negotiations began between ‘loyal’ Māori and Major R.W. Biggs to acquire land that would be utilised for military stations. Three locations were sought. The Crown threatened that if land was not given for these military stations, it would leave *Tūranga* permanently, withdrawing all military aid, and thus withdrawing from their obligation under the Treaty of *Waitangi* to provide protection.

Fifteen thousand acres was the amount of land negotiated by Major Biggs (Crown agent to the Native Land Court that would decide on the land to be ceded), five thousand acres for each of the three locations sought. It is around this time that things get messy.

Te Kooti and the *whakarau* were still imprisoned at *Wharekauri*, having been promised that after one year, they would be allowed to return home (Fargher, R. 2007). They were frustrated when this did not happen. McLean recommended they remain on *Wharekauri* until the cession of land had been completed.

Summary

Numerous narratives of land conquests exist. The critical point here is to analyse the land situation in *Tūranga* during the 19th century and how these transactions affected and shaped future strategies in terms of selling the land, retaining the land and land confiscations.

Chapter 5

Aim

Chapter 5 explores the strategies and methods *Riperata Kahutia* employed to retain and increase customary title for her and her people during the complexities involving land throughout the nineteenth century in *Tūranga*.

Retaining the Land

Evidence shows that *Riperata* was not keen on selling land. She understood with great clarity the pitfalls of having no land. Not only could valuable productive land be taken off her and end up in the hands of the Pākehā, but essentially the *mana* of her people would diminish if they did not retain their property. To have land is to have *mana*, to be without land is to be without soul. To the Māori his lands were the virtual basis of his economic life; any influence which affected his ownership or control of them was fraught with grave consequences for his future welfare (Firth, R. 1959). It meant having no leverage to bargain with, no involvement in prospective developments, and these *Riperata* knew, were vital in ensuring the survival of herself and her people. Leaders consulted with the community in their decision making, not just because it was the wise thing to do, but because *tikanga* required it (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the motivations of the establishment of the Native Land Court were not in the best interests of Māori. When giving evidence

for the Royal Commission into the Native land Laws in 1891, T.W. Lewis, who worked for the Native Department in the 1860's told the commission:

The whole object of appointing a Court for the ascertainment of Native title was to enable alienation for settlement. Unless this object is attained the court serves no good purpose and the Natives would be better off without it, as, in my opinion, fairer Native occupation would be had under the Māori's own customs and usages without any intervention whatsoever from outside (*AJHR*, 1891,G-1, p.xi.).

In 1891 the new Liberal government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the operation of native land legislation. The three commissioners included W.L. Rees and James Carroll, son in law of *Riperata Kahutia*. Their report denounced the laws and the ways that they had been used against Māori in order to acquire land. The complexities of the legal system, the heavy survey costs, and the fraudulent methods used by Pākehā to gain land were found to be harmful and unfair to Māori. During his years as a Member of Parliament and especially from 1899 when he became Minister for Native Affairs, James Carroll became well known for his *taihoa* policy, which was designed to slow down and discourage the purchasing of Māori land. This was a policy that was supported and endorsed by *rangatira* throughout the country, even though there was still in huge demand from Pākehā settlers to purchase land. The government still had pre-emption purchasing rights, enabling them to buy Māori land at a very cheap rate and due to the pressure from settlers to acquire more land, the Liberal Government who was in power at the time, needed to create an avenue that would allow them to acquire more land. By 1903, land acts included clauses that allowed the government to secure land that appeared to be unused and laying idle, or covered in weeds, scrub or blackberry. Therefore James Carroll proposed to the

government that if Māori were prepared to voluntarily give up portions of their ‘unused, idle’ property, that in return they should be given access to money lending that would enable them to make the remaining portion of their land productive, by sheep farming or stock raising. Borrowing money to obtain capital to further develop their land was a huge problem for Māori who were also seeking methods to generate an income from their land. They could not gain access to funds that would enable them to acquire the necessary tools and capital to work the land. The government was very reluctant to assist Māori farmers. James Carroll also advocated for the establishment of Māori Land Boards, through which Māori could vest their properties and be represented by a committee that would oversee land which was leased. Carroll insisted that these boards be fifty percent represented by Māori, appointed by Māori. However, when these boards were established, they were appointed completely by the government and there was no Māori representation. Now even though Carroll was supportive of Māori representation on these land boards, he was not supportive of encouraging Māori to seek separate avenues to oppose the government, ‘it would be better to free Māori from the delusion that it would be better to have separate constitution’(Ward, A. 1993).

It is almost certain that before she died in 1887, *Riperata* discussed with James Carroll the troubles and problems Māori in *Tūranga* were encountering in holding onto their own land. Her own experiences and observations placed her in a prime position to be able to comment on the difficulties Māori faced in challenges from Pākehā over land.

Land was a source of food and fuel for the people. Eel weirs, mullet streams, timber and firewood gathering spaces were all valuable locations for Māori. *Te Whānau ā Iwi* lands also had the advantage of access to the sea, enabling the gathering of seafood. Thus, *Riperata Kahutia* and her *hapū Te Whānau ā Iwi* could draw upon a variety of food and fuel resources, and the process of securing food and other means for survival appeared to be less of a problem for them in contrast to other *hapū*, who had to travel according to the seasons in order to replenish their storage supplies. It was crucial for *Riperata* and her people to protect and retain the traditional resources already in their possession. Maintaining these rights was more about *tikanga*, traditional customary practices. As the *rangatira* of *Te Whānau ā Iwi*, *Riperata* had a duty to uphold, and she did. When she agreed to sell *Tūranganui 2*, which became the site of Gisborne Township, she made sure that *Waiohiharore* Stream was not included in the land sold because it was a valuable food source. It was the source of a unique type of mullet. Having the management rights over this spring enhanced the *mana* of *Te Whānau ā Iwi*. Her decision to secure the rights to this spring demonstrated *Riperata's* knowledge of the landscape and the calculated decision she made with the deliberate intention of ensuring and maintaining the *mana* of her people. Areas of food cultivations were extremely important places for Māori, not only because they were food sources, but also because they highlighted a relationship to the land. Only a people who worked and nurtured the land like this could be of *ahikā* status highlighting self sufficiency and methods of survival that had been employed by previous ancestors through many generations. The history of previous ancestor's connections to the land is remembered through place names and river names which immortalized their past deeds. Therefore the traditional

practices and methods of Māori were not new, but very, very old. In terms of showing a connection and affiliation to the land, Māori depended on the land for survival and sustenance, originating from hundreds of years ago. Land was more than an economic necessity or a form of generating an income for Māori. Spiritually, Māori are intrinsically connected to the land through *Papatuanuku* and *Hine nui te pō*, so if there were *urupā* located upon a particular piece of land, that plot would be of great significance to Māori, and would further enhance the *mana* of that land.

The Influence of Kahutia

Her father's commitment and his determination to reclaim the autonomy of *Tūranga* influenced Riperata's stance. Her upbringing certainly shaped her life. It is also likely that *Kahutia* deliberately groomed *Riperata* imparting to her relevant knowledge and resource skills, in order to prepare her for the changing world she would become a part of. If the qualifications are right and the leader performs well, it all goes back to good breeding, because the mother and father were great people (Mead, S. 1997). According to family *whakapapa*, *Riperata* was the youngest child of *Kahutia*. Although some families practiced the tradition of grooming the eldest child to carry the mantle of leadership, in the case of *Riperata*, her family, *hapū* and *iwi* did not adhere to this custom. Leadership was not gender specific.

Since land was the main reason for dispute and conflict in her time it is very appropriate that this issue would become the principle and dominating focus of interest for *Riperata* through the remainder of her life. Her involvement in many

land disputes, including both Māori and Pākehā, meant that she was sometimes viewed unfavourably by different sectors of the community. It is possible that her forthright “take no prisoners” stance may have made her unpopular. Her ideas were often different and new, and because they were innovative these ideas were not always embraced readily by the wider community.

Riperata was very knowledgeable, extremely well-informed, and was surrounded by a core group of supporters, Māori and Pākehā. She displayed a fearless and very able public face during court hearings, and it is possible many people were intimidated by her. She learnt about the new systems of ownership and tenure as she went along, keeping up to date with the frequent changes in land legislation introduced by the Crown. The first investigation she gazetted in the *Kaiti* claim was dismissed because she had not provided the correct administration information. Rectifying this mistake, *Riperata* made the appropriate corrections; she ensured she correctly filled out the documentation needed to proceed with the case and re-lodged her claim. This example illustrates how industrious she was in acquiring the necessary information to enable her to move forward. Despite the difficulties of adapting to and learning a new system, her commitment to and concern over the survival of her people was motivation enough to encourage her to make progress.

Unrest

Returning to the accusation of *Riperata* being involved with the *Hauhau*, she was scathing and bitter about being forced off her homestead at *Waerenga a Hika* due to the unrest that occurred from the arrival of the *Hauhau* movement and the *Te Kooti* raids. *Riperata* and her people were forced to relocate to *Waikanae*, to seek

refuge from the conflict and to escape the influence of outsiders who had imposed themselves upon herself and her people without invitation. Moving meant being closer to soldiers, and provided the opportunity for closer relationships and association with Pākehā. *Riperata* had alerted and taken with her, Pākehā women and children from *Waerenga ā Hika*, whom she protected and temporarily sheltered. It is at this time she sets up home at *Waikanae*. It is likely that the move from *Waerenga ā Hika* to *Waikanae* was something of a turning point for *Riperata* because she had to consider and put into action new strategies regarding the survival of her people.

Riperata herself came under scrutiny during these hearings for her supposed involvement with the *Hauhau* movement. *Rapata Wahawaha* wrote a letter to the Commission accusing *Riperata* of being a *Hauhau*. No other correspondence supported this complaint, and it seems the Commission found it unnecessary to follow up this accusation, probably because it considered the accusation groundless. Considering *Riperata* had previously cooperated with the Crown, notably in terms of being a party to selling land to the Crown in 1857 and 1869, it was unlikely that she would self sabotage herself by being in direct opposition to the Crown. Her primary responsibility ties were bound by to protect her people. She felt obliged to adapt and conform to the demands of the government. The government made the laws and showed its power in use of military forces. In this framework, she needed to work with what was best for her people in the future.

Joint Tenancy

A great injustice occurred here when officers of the Crown implemented the Poverty Bay Joint Tenancy Act of 1869 through granting joint tenancy to the landowners. In law, joint tenancy meant that land shareholders could not bequeath their land interests to their next of kin by will. *Riperata* aggressively criticized the awarding land to Māori as joint tenants because it also cancelled out customary *rangatira* rights. *Riperata* commented further in a letter of complaint she sent to Judges Rogan and Munro:

I perceive upon examination of the Poverty Bay Grants for lands passed and awarded by the Commissioner in 1869 that we are constituted joint tenants. This is so obviously unjust that I cannot help exclaiming on the injury done me in many cases I do not possess one quarter the land which was mine, or is mine, and worse than this, what is to become of my children at my death since I find they cannot inherit my property nor have I the power to leave it to them by will. When I signed the deed of cession to the government in 1869, it was with the understanding that two Judges of the Native Lands Court should ultimately return our lands to us and that they should reserve certain blocks for the government in lieu of taking the Hauhau pieces in patches. They have I think I am justified in saying that no intimation was given us of the intention to issue joint tenancy grants, on the contrary we at first imagined that ten names only would appear in each grant and Meesr Preece & Graham actually commenced to select on our parts ten names from each of the Crown grants for that purpose is of being named in the Crown grant and we always believed that eventually shares in the blocks would be individualized (Poverty Bay Inwards correspondence, MA62/7, Archives NZ.).

Judge Rogan responded:

For the Hon Native Minister, I believe the government are aware of the mistakes which have been made in the issue of the Poverty Bay grants under the Commission of 1869. Riparata is an important chief woman of Poverty Bay and

has a large land and property which will be seriously affected if she does not get relief from the joint tenancy (16 Jan, 1873).

Commoners and *rangatira* were granted equal shares, thus undermining customary practices, through colonial laws. Māori were also strongly advised to include as many owners as possible so that the land may be firmly held (Letter from W.H. Tucker to The Native Minister. 30 July 1872). This explains the widespread inclusion of commoners and *rangatira*. There appeared to a fear amongst Māori that if the Government observed only a few owners, they would come to the conclusion that Tūranga Māori did not need so much land, so the Government would retain it. During the hearings of the commission, claimants were advised that the more people who were awarded title, the better because if the land appeared to have only a few owners, the government might see this as an opportunity to appropriate more land. Therefore *rangatira* had their land rights deflated, and commoners had their land entitlements inflated.

Now the native's argument is this: we gave up our lands for a time with full faith that the Government would perform their promise then return them, they have not done so, they have only returned us a portion of our possessions and that small right they have given us, we cannot leave to our children it is given in such a manner as to be almost useless to us-Is this justice? Is this giving our lands back, no it is making a present of our lands to our slaves and leaving our children paupers (W.H. Tucker to Hon Native Minister on behalf of Tūranga Natives, 1872).

Further reference is made to the injustices of joint tenancy in the 1891 Royal Commission report submitted by W.L.Rees and James Carroll:

The Māoris of the East Coast allege that they were greatly injured by the action of the government in making all the grantees under "The Poverty Bay Grants Act, 1869," joint tenants instead of tenants in common. Certainly to confer a title upon the Māori which did not descend to his heirs or successors upon his death was a grievous wrong. It may be that it is too late to fix a remedy, but it should be tried (*AJHR*, 1891, G-1, p. 1).

In March of 1873 Attorney General James Prendergast responded to the objections of *Tūranga* Māori with the following clarification about joint tenancy:

‘a joint tenant can put an end to the joint tenancy by deed that is each joint tenant may during his life dispose of estate He cannot by will: so all joint tenants can by agreement make partition of the land. However each has an equal share and each can convey that equal share either to Trustees upon trust for him or herself and children or may sell it. They can secure their interests for their children by deed but not by will (Attorney General Prendergrast to Cooper, 1873).(Poverty Bay Inwards Correspondence, MA62/7, Archives, N.Z)

Therefore joint tenancy had negative ramifications for Māori. Firstly, all claimants had an equal share. This meant that a commoner was awarded the same entitlement as a chief, thereby nullifying the *mana* of a *rangatira*, and extinguishing the sacredness of *whakapapa*. Secondly, parents could not bequeath their land interests directly to their children. Because of this, many land owners sold their land, in the belief that this was the only option available to them. This was the exact outcome the Crown was aiming for. *Riperata* and the few others who retained their shares emerged with prestige rather wealth, since in the awards of joint tenancy the shares of chief and commoner were equal (Hall, De, Z.R. 1990).

During the second and final sitting of the Poverty Bay Commission in 1873, another option became available for Māori, based upon Attorney General Prendergast’s observation. Māori could set up trusts for themselves with a fellow trustee being left in charge. Many Māori did do this. Basically, shareholders could nominate a trustee within that particular land block and then sign over their land interests for that trustee to manage for the benefit of their next of kin. These were

called deeds of conveyance, and many Māori authorised and signed over these deeds to *Riperata*, empowering her to act on their behalf as the nominated trustee.

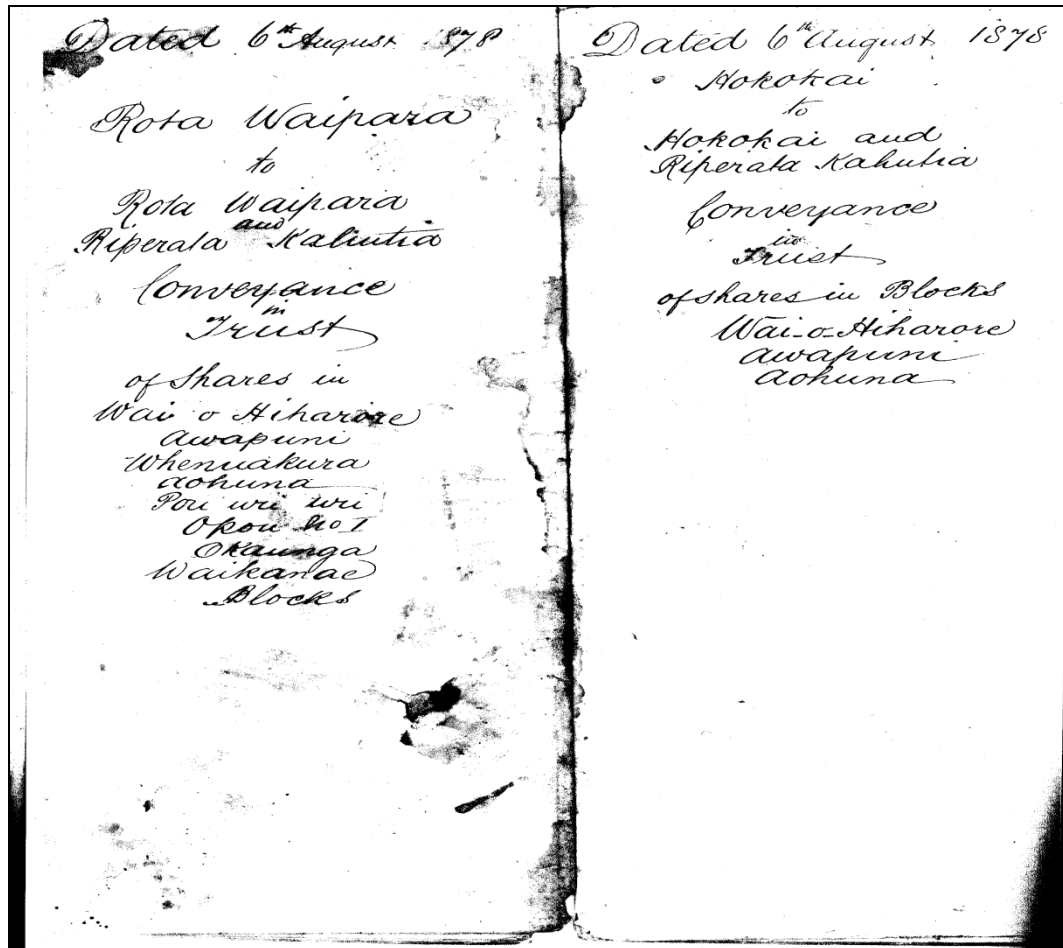


Figure 9: Conveyance of Trust Deed sample

The general consensus was that *Riperata* possessed *rangatira* status and therefore it was altogether appropriate for her to look after their interests of other landholders in the trust for the benefit of their children. The trustees who signed over their interests through deed, were not interested in selling, but in retaining their land. Through amalgamating with *Riperata*, this was realised. This also explains how *Riperata* accumulated so much land. She acted as the *kaitiaki* on

behalf of numerous other families. Some type of income had to be available in order to pay rates, and provide a return for the owners of the land. In addition it was important to show that the land was being used in a productive manner. In the Pākehā perspective vacant, unused land gave the impression that it was unwanted land and such land could provoke unwanted attention from potential settlers or even from the Crown. The struggle against Pākehā domination continued to determine the future and mana of Māori tribally and individually.

Generating an Income from the Land

The *Waitangi* Tribunal Report (2004) points out that *Tūranga* Māori developed sophisticated schemes to escape or reduce the constraints of the Native lands Acts and thus derive maximum benefits from their lands, whether through alienation or development. While this particular comment from the *Waitangi* Tribunal report relates particularly to the schemes created by Rees and *Pere* and their New Zealand Native Land Settlement Company, it is worth noting ideas that *Tūranga* Māori were already testing in terms of making land a viable economic commodity prior to the establishment of these ventures. The sale of limited blocks of land in 1857 and again in 1869 was one method of securing a financial return, and if *Riperata* had wanted to be personally wealthy, she could have simply sold her land and been a very rich woman. However, she chose to continue along a similar pathway to the one that her father *Kahutia* had pursued. As early as 1852, *Kahutia* had leased a piece of land to G.E. Read and J.W.Harris (Hall, De, Z.R. 1990) for sheep grazing, so *Riperata* was already familiar with such methods of ensuring a regular return from the land. Leasing land became an option she often employed. With the steady arrival of Pākehā settlers after the *Tūranga* raids, land became an

increasingly sought after commodity. *Riperata* was able to take advantage of the real estate market at this time by subdividing land blocks could then be leased. One advantage of leasing was that the revenue could be used to invest in farming, or some other type of agricultural operation, just as Pākehā settlers did. Sheep farming became a popular form of utilising the land, possibly due to the reduced amount of technology required to manage sheep grazing, therefore costs were significantly reduced. *Riperata* also had the advantage of being associated with an experienced sheep station manager in W.H.Tucker. Prior to his employment as *Riperata*'s land agent, he had managed sheep farms for G.E.Read, so it is likely he shared his knowledge and experiences with *Riperata* and helped her to make decisions about farming, including sheep farming.

Timber cutting was also a money generating venture. Once again, her father *Kahutia* had seen timber as an entrepreneurial opportunity. With money that *Kahutia* received from Harris for the lease of land, he went into partnership with *Raharuhi Rukupō* to build a mill. The natural abundance of native timber made this type of undertaking practical for Māori, and further enhanced the notion of autonomy and self governance. Māori understood that natural resources could be exploited to create employment and generate an income. Firewood was another valuable product that could be extracted from native forests, and this proved to be another highly profitable method of making money. Flax dressing provided a further form of utilising a natural resource. *Riperata* described during the rehearing of the *Kaiti* case in 1885 (MLCMB, Vol 10, 1885, p. 104) another money-making enterprise in which her father *Kahutia* had been involved. *Kahutia* had established two whaling stations in *Tūranga* and allowed four Europeans,

Harris, Morris, Espie and later, Brown, to occupy these two stations. In return, they paid *Kahutia* rental money. *Riperata* and her family it is clear, made use of the land and natural resources to gain a financial return. Her people were self sufficient and self governing, and during her time as a leader she sought ways to maintain and increase their autonomy and prosperity.

Mortgages and Money Lending

As noted earlier in this chapter, many Māori required forms of financial assistance in order to develop their land in a way that would guarantee significant financial returns. Europeans provided examples of how it was possible to reap a financial return off the land. However, whilst the Pākehā farmers borrow from the government and from after 1894 various lending institutions to help their farming developments, these avenues were closed to Māori. In order to combat this situation, some Māori, including *Riperata Kahutia*, became involved in a company called the New Zealand Lands Settlement Company. The primary purpose of this company was to use Māori Land made available by its Māori owners in conjunction with European technology and capital provided by Pākehā in order to manage the land into a productive and profitable resource for both parties. The final outcome would be a share in the profits. Although the ideas and proposals behind this type of venture were viable, borrowing money still proved to be a challenge for this company, especially when governments were reluctant to provide support. *Riperata's* vision allowed her to see the advantages of being involved in land schemes involving incorporations, and she demonstrated her interest in this venture by signing over substantial blocks of land to the New Zealand Settlement Company. Because she firmly believed land incorporations

were a method that could help Māori overcome the problems of acquiring capital and introducing modern farming technology, therefore she endorsed this particular project. Later on, when James Carrolls was the Native Minister in the Liberal government, he would also promote and advocate to Maori throughout New Zealand of the benefits of allowing their lands to be collectively managed by land incorporations.

Summary

The methods *Riperata* employed in the late nineteenth century were so far ahead of her time that they may not have been seen then, or since, for their real significance. Her belief in retaining land by land leasing as opposed to selling ensured the *mana* of her people would survive into the future. Her opposition to the joint tenancy provisions highlighted her belief in the land being *whenua tuku iho*. Similarly her strategies to generate an income from the land demonstrated her acceptance of innovation in maintaining the welfare of her people. All of these aspects relating to land were advocated by her son in law James Carroll while he was in Parliament: many of the policies promoted by Carroll had already been implemented by his mother in law. *Riperata* chose to work closely with sympathetic Pākehā, and in this way she had the advantage of being well informed and knowledgeable when it came to European procedures. Some rangatira chose to conduct their fight on the battlefield where blood was spilled, and many Maori lost their lives. In *Riperata*'s case, the majority of her struggles were conducted within the courtroom, a very public arena, and through the legal system. Her ultimate cause was her own people. During the unveiling of her memorial at *Te*

Kuri marae in 1906, *Wi Pere* made a comment which indicated her *rangatira* status in *Tūranga* (Pipiwaharoa. 1903-1913).

Had she been a man instead of a woman, I should have never have been in the position of representing you as member.

Chapter 6

Leadership and decision-making are aspects of a social, economic and political organisation (Mead, S. 1997).

Aim

A review of the previous chapters provide evidence emphasising *Riperatas* ability as a visionary, as an adaptable modern thinker. Therefore this chapter will investigate the benefits she achieved for her people and how she distributed these benefits amongst them.

What Makes a Leader?

Leadership is a birthright and the measure of chieftainship is a sum of *whakapapa* (Mahuika, A. 1992). *Whakapapa* and kinship were an essential part of the Māori social fabric (Haami, B. 2004). *Te Rangikaheke* supports this by emphasising the importance of 'proper' birth credentials as an essential aspect of leadership (Grove 1985, quoted by Mead, 1997). *Rangatiratanga* is defined as evidence of breeding and greatness (Williams Dictionary, 1971).

All of the commentaries from Māori scholars support the view that a critical prerequisite of being a *rangatira* is genealogy. The *whakapapa* in chapter 2 illustrates the credentials of Riperata and confirms her *rangatira* status. However, she also possessed additional attributes that further enhanced her suitability as a *rangatira*.

Much has been written about the traditional Māori world being a world based on an oral culture. The ability to tell and record history based on memory, was passed

from generation to generation, through oral forms of communication, including *mōteatea*, *karakia*, *whakatauki*, *whakapapa*. This information was treasured and because it had come from the ancestors, it was considered very sacred. Not everyone had access to this information. It was a privilege, usually reserved for chiefs and leaders. It became the responsibility of these *rangatira* to look after this knowledge, and ensure its survival.

Strengthening Alliances

During times of war or social change, political alliances were formed and secured through forming relationships with other tribal groups. Forming alliances helped to avoid war; so that peace and harmony were attained in contrast to conflict and bloodshed. An arranged marriage was one form of union used to cement alliances between *hapū* and *iwi*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, it is highly probable that the marriage of *Riperata Kahutia* to *Mikaere Tūrangi* was a deliberately arranged union. She was the daughter of a *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki rangatira*, and he was the son of a *Rongowhakaata rangatira*. It was not uncommon for marriages to be arranged between high-born members of different *iwi* to give strength to an alliance between the two groups (Mahuika, A. 1992). Similarly, arranged marriages were also used to settle inter-*hapū*, or inter-tribal disputes between one another. This marriage enhanced and elevated the status of *Riperata* and *Mikaere* in terms of *mana whenua*. Together they could and would claim the *mana* over vast areas of property throughout the district of *Tūranganui-ā-Kiwa* because they had the right to do this according to custom. Their *whakapapa* connections collectively gave them status and rights over propriety ownership and guardianship. They were both direct descendants of ancestors who historically

held the rights to land and therefore *Riperata* and *Mikaere* had the responsibility of ensuring and meeting the requirements that were a part of the duties of this time aged tradition and practice.

The Literary World

After the arrival of Pākehā, Māori became aware of the possibilities of the written world as an additional method of communication. The ability to read and write would be important skills in coping with this new world. In the time of *Riperata*, she would witness the increasing rise of devastation inflicted upon Māori society by the arrival of Pākehā. It is possible that her own observations and experiences motivated her to look for strategies she believed would allow her to gain access to this world. Missionary schools had been established in *Tūranga* and relationships between the missionaries and other Pākehā developed steadily through the years. The enthusiasm among Māori to soak up the new skills introduced by Pākehā showed the potential for a bilingual and bicultural society. *Riperata* learned to read and write in *te reo* Māori. These new skills assisted in opening the doors to the world of Pākehā, and further enhanced her mana among Māori. The educated *rangatira* provided the bridge between the traditional society and the new one (Winiata, M. 1967).

Power of Words

During the Native Land Court hearings, Māori needed the ability to stand with confidence in both the Māori world and in the Pākehā world in order to represent themselves and others. They represented the Māori to the European, while at the same time speaking to the Māori for the European (Mahuika, A. 1992). This is an

area in which *Riperata* excelled, and she became famous amongst the European community for her speechmaking proficiency. She had to recall and recount *whakapapa*, providing the stories and narratives taught to her by her father and her *kaumātua*. She had to name significant landmarks, food sources and former battlegrounds, detail conquests and defeats that took place in past times, *rāhui* that were set up, and why these had been erected. This kind of knowledge demonstrated long term occupation of the land that highlighted antiquity and more importantly ownership. Prior to the establishment of the Native Land Court, land was held communally, for the benefit of the community, *hapū*. It was the Native Land Court that created individual land title. The operations of the Native Land Court forced Māori to reveal their *whakapapa* and tribal history which was all duly recorded and documented by the court. Māori history was fashioned into written records.

Pākehā remarked that *Riperata* was an absolute master in oratory skill and performance. Examples are given in Chapter 3 of reports made about her abilities as a great orator. She could stand up in *hui* and court cases and present her argument with great articulation and confidence. Clearly *Riperata* possessed great skills in communicating with people. Whether this skill was naturally acquired or deliberately taught to her poses an interesting question. However, her special expertise in this field reinforces her competence as a *rangatira*. In every Māori community there were a number of people who, through inborn skill or special training, possessed greater ability than their fellows in certain types of work (Firth, R. 1959). *Riperata* was the nominated *kaikōrero*, narrator for her

people. She was an authority on the tribal histories and genealogies of her people and exhibited her *rangatiratanga*.

Keeper/ caretaker of knowledge

Riperata created a collection of notebooks that held whakapapa of various families. This collection highlights her belief in the importance of recording traditional, historical information and transmitting it into written form. Maata Keiha, a descendant elaborates:

Appointments within family groups of kaiwhakahaere or advocates representing the views of their whānau who entrusted them with their whakapapa books, historical sites, boundaries etc. Kaiwhakahaere's responsibilities had lengthy consultations with their whānau to inform and be informed, they represented their rights/views in the Māori Land Courts, Appellate Courts, Supreme Courts, Petitions to Parliament and to Privy Council. Kaiwhakahaere ensured that all who were entitled by birth were included in the lists submitted to the court (Inward correspondence from Maata Keiha, 1990).

Whakapapa is essential in proving an intimate relationship with the land. The *whakapapa* credentials of a person cannot ever be extinguished (Mead, S. 1997).

Taking a Political Stand

Alliances between other *iwi* leaders and the Crown were established because many *rangatira* felt that this was the most effective method of ensuring that the tribe retained its lands (Neal, K. 1976). *Riperata* followed this pattern. Her potential must have been recognised when she was very young and was later groomed by her father and others for a future leadership role. She later enhanced her position by being literate and honing her skills as a public speaker. She became an expert historian, able to give detailed historical information that could

only be acquired through long periods of learning. Her chiefly lineage also put her into direct access with scholarly people, thus enabling her to understand essential traditional knowledge. Most importantly, her own people would have had to endorse her role as their leader and guardian of their *iwi* knowledge. If they had felt she was unsuitable, they would have shown their disapproval, preventing her from representing them. According to Firth (1959, p. 132) personality and executive capacity were also required to maintain rank and authority, but, Firth adds, to maintain this position the chief needed one more thing - wealth.

Wealth could take many forms. Some *rangatira* chose to accumulate their fortune and used it to pursue their own personal interests. In *Riperata*'s case, her wealth was managed in the best interests of her people. She operated according to traditional values and attitudes, so that any type of benefit was shared amongst the entire hapū and iwi. As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Riperata* was very particular when it came to traditional food sources. She deliberately ensured her people would have continued access to these sources because they would provide sustenance for her people of today, and also for future generations.

One of the most important and significant examples of *Riperata* providing for her people was her role in the creation of *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae* at *Awapuni, Tūranga*.

Te Kuri: Hospitality, Taking Care of People

This *marae* construction initiative was a project that involved *Riperata* and her two close *whanaunga*, *Noa Whakaatere* and *Hapi Kiniha*. These two *whanaunga* are said to have represented the hapū *Ngai Tāwhiri*, while *Riperata* represented *Te*

Whānau ā Iwi. The erection of the *marae* would mean many things for *Te Whānau ā Iwi*. In evidence given by *Riperata* in the Native Land Court during the *Kaiti* case, she explained that her people had not had any *pā* sites since the time of *Kuriwahanui*, five generations before *her*. This *marae* would therefore fulfil a long held desire of her people. Firth (1959) describes the building of *marae*, as the central aim was the creation of some object of social value - a house of assembly or a large canoe - to be utilised by the community. Furthermore he claims, at various times during the nineteenth century, there was considerable rebuilding of meeting houses associated partly with political consciousness. Construction of *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* began about 1880. In this work a number of famous carvers took part, perpetuating the tradition that a meeting house should have lavished on it the finest skill of the wood carver's art. *Horonuku Te Heuheu, Ariki* or paramount chief of *Ngāti Tūwharetoa*, gifted the ridgepole for the meeting house (Phillips, W.J. 1944). His reputation as an expert carver was well known throughout the country. There are a number of reasons that could explain his prestigious involvement:

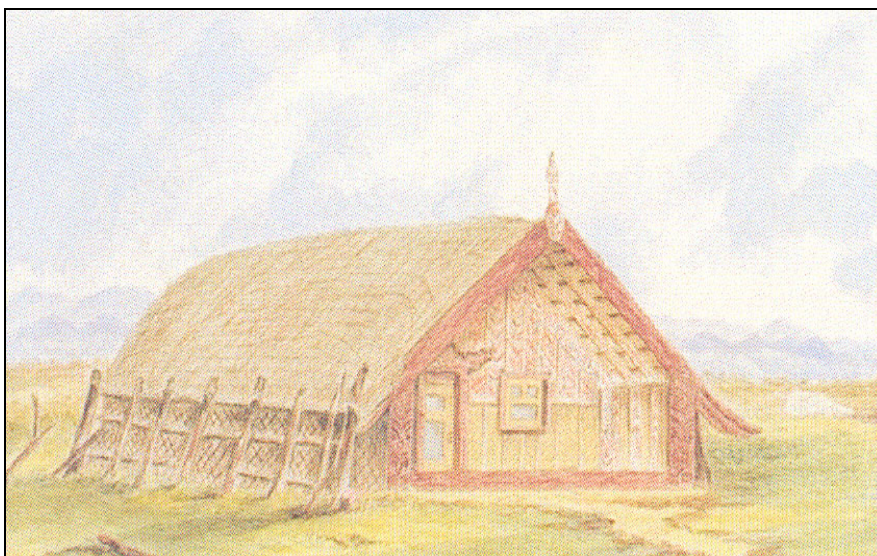


Figure 10: The original Te Poho o Materoa

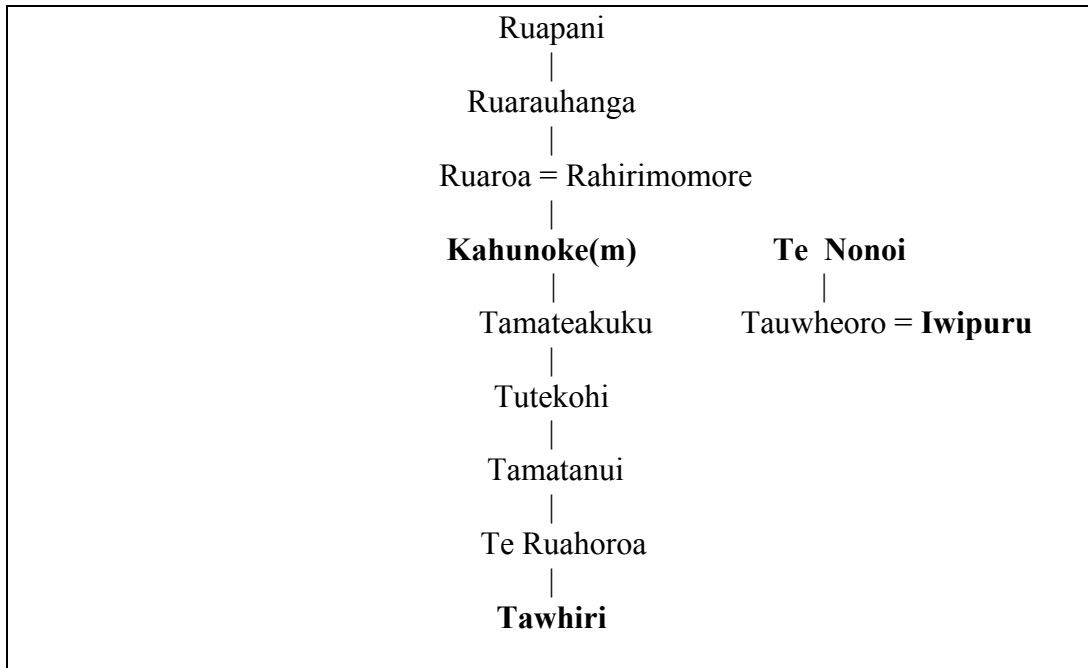
One of the carvers who helped him was *Raniera Turoa* or *Raniera Te Heuheu*, who was the husband of *Riperata*'s sister-in-law *Heni*. *Heni*'s father was *Paratene Tūrangi*, father-in-law to *Riperata*. *Paratene* was also acknowledged as being a master carver himself, and assisted with the carvings for the *Manutuke* Church.

Another possibility is that *Te Heuheu* and *Riperata* had an acquaintance in common, the missionary Thomas Grace, who was temporarily stationed at *Tūranga* to replace William Williams in the absence of the Reverend. On the return of Williams, Grace was relocated to *Taupo*, where he became associated with *Te Heuheu*. Grace was sympathetic to Māori and might have relayed to *Te Heuheu* the details of conflict in *Tūranga*, and even informed him possibly of the work of *Riperata*. But it may simply have been that *Te Heuheu* and *Riperata* had high *rangatira* status, and were known to each other as leaders of *iwi*.

Riperata explains during a narrative she correlates to the Native Land Court, *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* was an eel weir, an eel pā which was a prized food source for her people. In her testimony before the Court, she claimed land by ancestral rights, or *whakapapa*; by rights of conquest, or *pakanga*; and by occupation, or *ahikā*.

Riperata recited to the Court her *whakapapa* stretching back to thirteen generations to a brother and sister who jointly owned all of *Tūranga*. They were *Kahunoke*, a male, and *Te Nonoi*, a female. These two *tipuna* have a very significant relationship to the construction of *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae*, which

involved the two *hapū* of *Te Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri*. *Te Whānau ā Iwi* descend from *Te Nonoi*, and *Ngai Tāwhiri* descend from *Kahunoke*.



Whakapapa 7 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Riperata had told the Native Land Court that her two *hapū* were *Te Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri*, and therefore it is highly likely that the agreement between *Riperata*, *Noa* and *Hapi* to construct a *pā* was based on the bloodline of the relationship between *Kahunoke* and *Te Nonoi*, and was designed to pay homage to the *mana* of these two *tipuna*.

Furthermore, a framework could be established to allow *Riperata*, *Noa*, *Hapi* and their respective *hapū* to come together. The two *hapū* would still retain their own separate *mana* even though they were joint partners in this project. *Mana* and prestige were values that would not be forfeited under any circumstance. During the hearing of the *Pipiwakao* case (1880), *Riperata* explained how a dispute between two *hapū* living within the same *pā* turned into a major point of

disharmony because a member of one of those *hapū* ploughed land that belonged to the other *hapū*. This incident had happened during the time of her father *Kahutia*, and remained unresolved. One scholar observes that different *hapū* have been known to live together in the one *pā*, but still retained their *mana* on their own land. Living with another *hapū* did not give the other *hapū* rights to their *mana whenua*. It is possible that the partnership of these two *hapū* provided an opportunity for that dispute to be settled. This appears to have been the case hence forth with *Te Whānau ā Iwi* and *Ngai Tāwhiri*.

Te Kuri was ready to use by 1884. Carvers came from as far as *Waipiro* Bay to offer assistance in this massive project, and for their help, they were paid in sheep or cattle (Phillips, W.J as cited in Oliver, W.R. 1944). A painting exists of *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae* that illustrates the original *wharenuī*, a church, and a European styled house. It is also possible to identify two other smaller Māori style houses in the background. In the foreground are open fires and people gathered around them. Further in the background other whare can be identified which appear to be *papakāinga*.

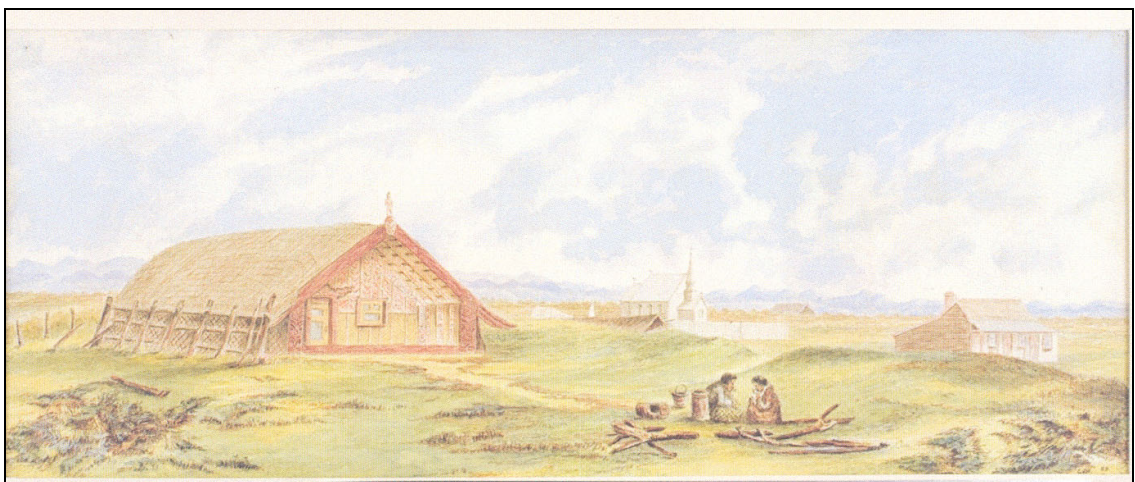


Figure 11: Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae 1887

Wharenui

Political statements were made through the erection of meeting houses. *Wharenui* are public visual announcements, proclaiming the survival and persistence of *hapū* of *Te Aitanga ā Mahaki* and *Rongowhakaata* that are proud of its heritage and its people. Great *rangatira* built great houses and the grander the finished product, then the more enhanced the prestige of that *rangatira* and their people would be. Neich (2001) comments;

In general terms, the traditional meeting house of the 1840's and later was expressing an ideology of group identity based on the idiom of descent. Many group leaders and their prophets turned to the specific history of their people and constructed new historical narratives that explained these new differences. In the new meeting houses built by these groups in the 1870's and later, these new historical narratives were given visual form.

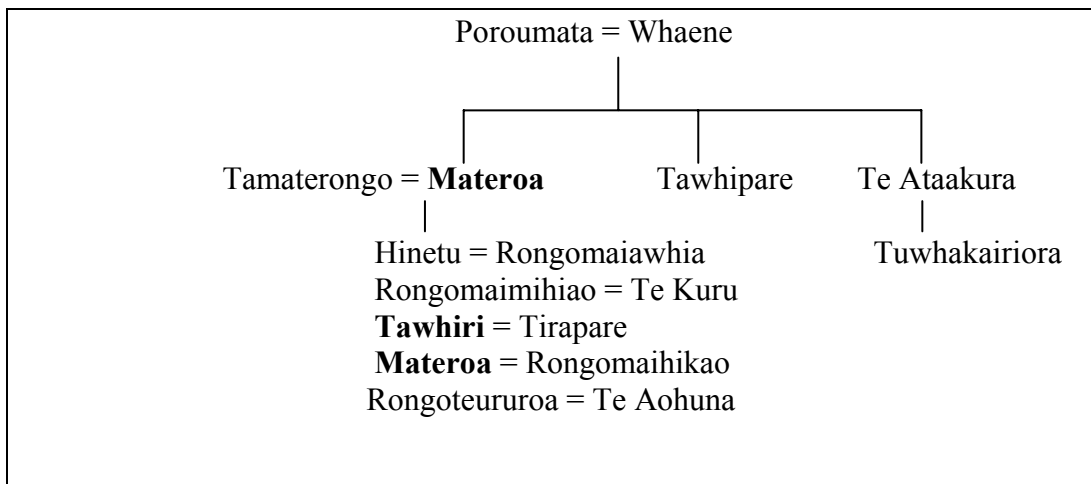
Ranginui Walker (2004) observes;

Among shattered tribes, meeting houses continued to be built, some with painted decorations only, and others with little or no carving at all. These houses were used for meetings, church services and accommodation. But above all, they symbolised the discrete cultural identity of the Māori against cultural invasion by the Pākehā.

‘Shattered tribes’ as noted by Walker may have been the reality for some *iwi*, but *Te Whānau ā Iwi* were still in control of their *mana whenua*, and the construction of *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* was more about emphasising *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana* than the resistance to cultural invasion.

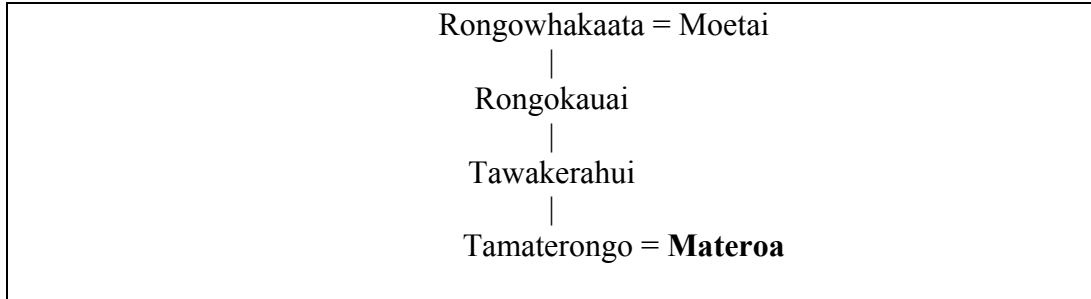
As already mentioned, the incorporation of a church named St Mary's demonstrated visually the commitment of *Riperata* and her people to the religion of the Church of England. Additionally the European house also publicly showed a willingness to embrace Pākehā influences. Even though the marae is essentially a bastion for Māoritanga, times were changing, and responses to these changes were made according to the situation and circumstances. Thus, the inclusion of European-themed houses might indicate to Pākehā that *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* was not an anti-Pākehā institution and was not hostile or unfriendly to non-Māori.

The meeting house was named *Te Poho o Materoa*. The suggestion by a Pākehā researcher that the wharenui was named after Lady Carroll, *Heni Materoa* is improbable. It is more likely that the name of the *wharenui* refers to an ancestor, *Materoa*, who was the eldest child of *Poroumata* and *Whaene*. *Poroumata* was a direct descendant, four generations down, of the founding ancestor of *Ngāti Porou*, *Porourangi*. Her mother *Whaene* was said to be of *Rongowhakaata* descent.



Whakapapa 8 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Materoa married *Tamaterongo* who also descended from *Rongowhakaata* and his third wife, *Moetai*.



Whakapapa 9 (Source: Whānau Keiha Private Collection)

Riperata claimed during the *Kaiti* case rehearing (1885) that *Materoa* was the original owner of the *pā* site on the mountain of *Titirangi* by *Kaiti* beach. Therefore, the *wharenui Materoa* was possibly a deliberate move by *Riperata* to further maintain the *mana* of *Materoa*, and also to ensure her historical significance to the district of *Tūranga* would continue to be remembered. The name *Materoa* also demonstrated the reach this *tipuna* had in terms of *mana whenua*, as she was affiliated all the way up the coast. This type of *whakapapa* demonstrated a connection and relationship to land and people, and therefore gave high accords of prestige to *Riperata* and to her *uri*. Perhaps it is a coincidence that *Riperata* named her *wharenui* and the church after females, but it is possible her inclination to invoke is intentional. Female *wharenui* are not unusual in the adjacent *iwi Ngāti Porou* (see *Mahuika*), but for *Tūranga* it was unique. Only *rangatira* with *mana* could achieve acceptance from the wider community for such an unusual proposal.

The two *poutokomanawa* inside *Materoa* were the *tipuna* *Tawhiri* and *Rongoteururoa*, while the *tekoteko* was *Kuriwahanui*. *Kuriwahanui* is an important *tipuna* to *Te Whānau ā Iwi*. He assembled and led a war party that went to *Mahia* to avenge a defeat that had taken place at *Kaiti*. During this battle at *Kaiti*, the younger brother of *Kuriwahanui* was killed. Upon the victorious return of his *taua* to *Tūranga* from *Mahia*, *Kuriwahanui* laid down the boundaries that would divide the land between descendants of *Kahunoke* and *Ruawairau*. *Riperata* noted while giving evidence before the Native Land Court in 1885, that her people have never had a pā site since the time of *Kuriwahanui*. It is the contention of this study that the decision to honour *Kuriwahanui* as the *tekoteko* on top of the wharenui was a deliberate move by *Riperata* to use him as a historical marker and demonstrate to her people that a long time wish had finally been brought to fruition.

Te Poho o Materoa was extensively renovated and restored in 1905. When a painting of the original wharenui is compared with photographs of the restored meeting house, noticeable differences can be seen. The front of the renovated wharenui displays an enclosed porch, complete with balcony and railing structures. The original window is still there, except this time, it is finished off with a real glass frame. To the left of the wharenui is a new building, a hall which was also used as a *wharekai*. *Heni Nikora* (pers. comm, 2008) recalls the dances and *hui* that took place inside this hall during her younger adolescent years. *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* was a *marae* that was always busy, she says. Another memory she remembers is of the walls on the inside of the hall, where black and white portraits and photographs of the ‘old grannies’ were displayed.



Figure 12: Te Poho o Materoa 1906

In 1907, the memorial for *Riperata Kahutia* was unveiled at *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae*, and according to a traditional *hapū* narrative, one of her *whanaunga* is now buried next to this memorial. While there is a old Māori *urupā* here at this *marae*, it is not located close to the memorial of *Riperata*. Eventually the *wharenuī* and the hall fell into a state of disrepair because of lack of use as a descendant observed:

Everyone was welcome and Te Kuri was a very active marae, until about 1939, when the war started. Maraea and Pare Keiha had kept the church services running each month, but by later that stage, the numbers attending had dropped off (pers. comm, Keiha, B. 2008).

A decision was made to allow a local motelier to take the carvings and panels from the *wharenuī* so that he could display them in the reception area of his motel. Three weeks after the removal of these art pieces, the *wharenuī* and the hall were

guttered by fire. A decision was made to level the remains of the buildings, and clear the land.

About three years after the levelling of the *wharenui* William Keiha discovered that the carvings in the possession of the motelier were not being displayed as originally intended, and were instead being stored in the motel laundry where the heat and dampness severely affected the condition of the artwork. Fortunately, members of *Riperata*'s family took immediate action to retrieve these *taonga*, and after thorough assessment by art heritage experts, they were lent to the *Tairāwhiti* museum for safekeeping. *Toihoukura* Art School accepted the challenge of restoring many of the paintings and carvings from *Te Poho o Mataroa*. They are now displayed in the church located next to *Toihoukura*. Other pieces remain in privately safekeeping such as the *koruru* from the *wharenui*.



Figure 13: Original koruru from Te Poho o Mataroa wharenui

Current Position of Te Kuri

Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae ran into financial difficulty when the *marae* trustees were required to find funds to pay rates. Under the Public Works Act, the Gisborne City Council had the power to take over the land on which rates had accrued. The City Council wanted to build executive homes upon the land. Fortunately the trustees were advised to lodge a claim with the Māori Land Court, which declared *Te Kuri ā Tuatai* a reserve, under the Native Reserves Act.

Following the levelling of the buildings at *Te Kuri ā Tuatai marae*, lengthy negotiations took place to acquire funding to restore the *wharenui* and *wharekai*, and to erect sixteen *kaumātua* flats. The funding was approved for this project, and six flats were completed before the funding was axed due to a similar project up the road costing more than was budgeted.

Tūrangawaewae

Riperata was known throughout *Tūranga* not only by reputation, but also because she was a *kanohi kitea* (a seen, recognised face). Born and bred in *Tūranga*, *Riperata* possessed full knowledge of the traditional stories of her ancestors and their spiritual connections to land. During testimony before the land courts, *Riperata* was able to name numerous land marks, boundaries, rivers, food sources and other information about the land. Mead (1997) states that this skill, is imperative for a leader.

In the context of the land, the leader is able to call upon the symbols of the people that are part of the natural environment: the mountain, the river, the sacred places, the lake, the harbour. These symbols are part of the leader's aura or spiritual significance and are an important part of their credentials (p. 200).

Disinterring Kahutia

Some time prior to her own passing, *Riperata* had her father *Kahutia* exhumed from an old Māori *urupā* at *Mātokitoki* valley, and re-interred at *Te Pou o Tūranga* at *Taruheru*. *Kahutia* was a well known *rangatira* of *Taruheru* and *Makauri*, and it is highly likely he had instructed *Riperata* to have him returned to his *tūrangawaewae*, his place of spiritual significance. *Te Pou o Tūranga urupā* was later to be the resting place of *Riperata herself*. Other noted *rangatira* were known to perform the same type of practice, exhuming the remains of chiefs and re-locating them for burial. The example of *Te Puea* (King, M. 1977) exhuming the remains of the *Kahui Ariki* and having them re-interred on the mountain *Taupiri*, based on the express wishes of *Tawhiao*, demonstrates the deep and sincere belief Māori have in *tūrangawaewae*.

The actions of *Riperata* in exhuming and relocating her father were not a unique practice. In fact, Māori relocated and reburied their loved ones remains all the time according to the customary belief of *Tūrangawaewae*. It is called *hahunga*. *Hahunga* were a matter of prestige and appear to have been connected mainly with the chiefly families (Oppenheim, R.S. 1973). The *tupāpaku* would be placed in a shallow, temporary grave for about a year or so until the flesh had fully decomposed from the body. The *kaitiaki* would then collect the bones from their temporary graves so that they could remove any remaining flesh (Ka'ai, T. 2004). After the farewell ceremony, which would consist of the immediate family and respective parties saying their final goodbyes, the bones would then be consigned to their final resting place.

Lady Carroll/Pare Keiha

Upon the passing of *Riperata Kahutia* in 1887, her *rangatiratanga* was inherited by her two children *Heni Materoa* and *Pare Keiha*. As mentioned in chapter 3, *Heni Materoa* married James Carroll in 1881 and from 19 was then more commonly known as Lady Carroll amongst the Pākehā community, but was always referred to as either *Te Huinga* or the *reiri* by her own people. To examine her contribution to the history of *Tūranga* and to the causes she was involved in that affected Māori people fall beyond the scope of this thesis. Her generosity was immense, as was her charitable work. Whilst some historians have made attempts to capture her life story, the true stories of who she was are held by *kaumātua* and *kuia*, who experienced first hand, the generosity of *Heni Materoa*. Some of her achievements included work with women and children, particularly the establishment of the *Heni Materoa* home in *Tūranga* which was set up to accommodate and care for those who had been affected by the consequences of the first and second world war. Her fundraising efforts along side Sir *Apirana Ngata* in support of his political career (Robinson, S. 1996) and her campaigning with him to encourage the enlistment of Māori soldiers for the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion (Te Hokowhitu a Tū) are just a few of the projects she was involved in. Robinson (1996) further comments that *Heni Materoa* also encouraged Māori patients affected by the epidemic of influenza in 1918 to seek help from Pākehā medical clinics.

The youngest child of *Riperata*, *Pare Keiha*, did not have the same public profile as his sister *Heni Materoa*, but he too was of the same generous character as his mother and sister. He was a celebrated sportsman on the golf course and he enjoyed horse racing. He subsequently gifted blocks of land to the community to

establish a race course, a golf course, and bowling grounds. The *Kahutia* family gifted blocks of land to the community to establish schools, public parks, and reserves. These are clearly the works of a family who had the interests of the community in mind.

Summary

Riperata Kahutia spent her life amongst her people. She was a fierce defender of the *mana* of her people through facing up to the challenges of the mid nineteenth century that affected *Tūranga*. Whilst her *whakapapa* gave her automatic entitlement to *rangatira* status, other attributes also gave her strength. Her expertise in tribal histories and traditional narratives helped to endorse her as being the appropriate leader for her people. In addition, *Riperata* was literate, which meant she could communicate with the European world.

Therefore the objective of this chapter has been to not only examine how *Riperata Kahutia* assumed her role as a *rangatira*, but also how she exercised her leadership. *Riperata Kahutia* could have been extremely prosperous if she wanted to. However her wealth was not used for personal enhancement, but was used, as illustrated in this chapter, for the benefit of her people, and in the interests and needs of the wider community. In the establishment of *Te Poho o Mataroa* she prepared her people for the future by looking back to their *tipuna*. Her passion and commitment to the Māori people of *Tūranga* was selfless and she displayed this through her belief that her people would survive the severe disruptions which came with colonisation by living in peace and harmony with others.

*He whare whakairo i tū ki roto i te pā tūwatawata he tohu rangatira,
Te whare i tū ki te koraha, he kai nā te ahi!*

Chapter 7

Summary

This study set out to prove that *Riperata Kahutia* was a visionary of her times and acted for the benefit of her people. In traversing this journey, the research revealed a more informed perspective of Māori society in *Tūranga* during the mid nineteenth century. Its particular emphasis focused on a case study of a woman *rangatira* from that district, *Riperata Kahutia*. Her story has often been shaped by non-Māori historians to fit into a framework that sits comfortably in a Pākehā controlled setting, as though her relationship with Pākehā was the reason she had *mana*. One of the outcomes of this study has been to take her out of that Pākehā frame of reference, and to write about her from a tribal perspective. As mentioned in chapter 1, one of the reasons chosen to write about *Riperata Kahutia* was because she was a small piece of what is a very complex puzzle in the history of *Tūranga* during the nineteenth century. Her contribution to that history was enormous yet the published documentation of her was limited in scope. The majority of the scholarly writings regarding the *Tūranga* district have been written by Pākehā historians and therefore the views and perspectives are Pākehā - tainted and can be unfairly prejudicial. Thus, it may be fair to say that the beginnings of this project has stemmed from the immense frustration at not being able to access literature that accurately encapsulates perspectives or the voices of our *tīpuna* with the integrity and understanding they deserve.

There has always been the commonly held view that many Māori *rangatira* of the nineteenth century may have abused their positions of power by selling out their

fellow tribesmen in order to gain a footing in the Pākehā community. In fact what happened was leaders were forced to adapt in order to respond to the changes imposed upon them by the effects of colonisation. The primary issue for Māori during the changing times of the nineteenth century was land. The colonisers were so intent on taking Māori land, that they introduced a process that would systematically obtain large portions of Māori land. This was the Native Land Court. The introduction and consequences of colonisation created changes socially, politically and economically. It was these types of changes that forced *rangatira* to respond by choosing measures that would secure the future sustainability of their people.

In recapping the body of the research, Chapter 1 outlined the introduction, research methods and the research questions for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 is a chronological overview of the traditional iwi history of *Tūranga* into which *Riperata Kahutia* was born. It discussed the first settlement of people who arrived to the *Tūranga* district on the *Horouta* canoe who became the *tangata whenua* of *Tūranga*. Followed by their arrival to *Tūranga* came the first Pākehā settlers and the acquisition of land which created many of the issues that are examined in this research.

Chapter 3 is a biographical study that looked at who *Riperata Kahutia* was. Her personal history, *whakapapa*, marriage and contemporaries are all analysed in this chapter to try and get an understanding of aspects of an environment that

collectively contributed in shaping *Riperata* into such a prominent personality of *Tūranga*.

Chapter 4 examined the methods used by the British Government to acquire Māori land. This chapter is a chronological overview of how Māori lost land and how this affected land holdings in the *Tūranga* district.

Chapter 5 was essentially concerned with how *Riperata* responded to the methods of the Crown's acquisition of *Tūranga* land. The strategies and methods used by *Riperata* to retain the land, generate income from the land and the complexities of land laws specific to *Tūranga* Māori is scrutinized here.

Chapter 6 considered the benefits *Riperata* achieved for her people and how she shared them out. This chapter also discussed *Riperata*'s role as a rangatira, and how she was a visionary and a modern thinker who implemented proposals and ideas that were way ahead of her time. *Te Poho o Materoa* was her great gift to ensure the future of her people.

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to prove that *Riperata Kahutia* was a visionary of her times who reacted in the best way she knew to the problems of land retention in the district of *Tūranga* in the nineteenth century. Her *mana rangatira* was never in doubt and the thesis argued that she was groomed for leadership. It further argued that she adapted well to the changes forced upon her by the consequences of colonisation by embracing strategies that supported the wellbeing and survival of

her people. She steadfastly defended their *mana* and their land by using both Māori and Pākehā methods that would ensure their future independence and sustainability. We now know what those methods were and how she exploited them, like her skillful manipulation and management of the Native Land Court, to secure the *mana* and *tino rangatiratanga* of her *iwi*. Some *rangatira* chose to resist the directives of the Government and as a consequence they suffered land confiscations. However, we now know that *rangatiratanga* was an evolving dynamic. *Rangatira* had their own formula and ideas when it came to responding to the changes that colonisation brought. There was no single formula to combat these difficult times, however, the strategies adopted by *Riperata* reveals the perceptiveness, wisdom and perspicuity of a *rangatira* who exercised her *mana* and knowledge of current systems to secure the future of her people. She adapted readily to the dictations of colonisation in the district of *Tūranga* during the nineteenth century, utilising strategies and methods that ensured the well-being and future independence and sustainability of her people. She was a person of her times, who engaged with the leaders of her community and while some challenged her rights, all respected her. These findings have been informed and confirmed by archival research and interviews.

He Kupu Whakatepe

Researching and writing this thesis has been an enlightening and liberating experience, because as a Māori researcher writing about one's own *tipuna* and people comes with it an enormous responsibility and honour. But this study is just a beginning. To be able to fully understand and comprehend Māori society in *Tūranga* during the nineteenth century, further research is required of other

rangatira, tribal traditions, *waiata* and *karakia*. There are many other opportunities of study and research required in other areas. This would then reveal *Tūranga* history in a fuller context.

As is the case with many pieces of research, there will be areas that have not been included, or omissions that have occurred for various reasons. Perhaps it does not belong here, but in future study. Whilst accuracy has been paramount at all times, any mistakes or errors are entirely my own.

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